

THE STANDARD

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THE STANDARD advocates the abolition of all taxes upon industry and the products of industry, and the taking, by taxation upon land values irrespective of improvements, of the annual rental value of all those various forms of natural opportunities embraced under the general term, Land.

We hold that to tax labor or its products is to discourage industry.

We hold that to tax land values to their full amount will render it impossible for any man to exact from others a price for the privilege of using those bounties of nature in which all living men have an equal right of use; that it will compel every individual controlling natural opportunities to either utilize them by the employment of labor, or abandon them to others; that it will thus provide opportunities of work for all men, and secure to each the full reward of his labor; and that as a result involuntary poverty will be abolished, and the greed, intemperance and vice that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty will be swept away.

HENRY GEORGE IN ENGLAND.

LONDON, May 25.

In closing my last week's letter I promised to say something of the meeting at Dudley on the previous Wednesday evening. Dudley and Wednesborough are in the heart of the Black country, only a little distance from Cradley Heath, where the employment of women and children in chain and nail making has latterly been attracting a great deal of attention. Dudley is also the residence of the Rev. Harold Rylett, who has done much to bring before the public the condition of these nail and chain makers, and whose letters have made him well known to the readers of THE STANDARD.

The hall at Dudley was packed and the platform was filled with active liberals, including a number of clergymen and local officials. Mr. Charles Cochrane, J. P., a large iron master, and the president of the institution of mechanical engineers, took the chair. He is the leading liberal in this district and is a man of great influence, and his appearance in the chair was the occasion for much applause. Mr. Cochrane read a letter from the parliamentary candidate from the district, Mr. H. R. Sheridan, declaring his sympathy, and stating that the death of a friend alone prevented him from attending the meeting. Mr. Cochrane made a ringing speech, declaring that as soon as the Irish question was got out of the way the tax must be laid at the root of the evil tree of landlordism in England, calling attention to the monstrous effects of the system as visible in the Black country, and applauding the action of the London county council in moving forward to the taxation of land values.

My speech was received with the utmost enthusiasm, and when I explained the extreme moderateness of our position in not asking for anything that the landowners had already taken from the national wealth, but merely seeking to reserve for the public use in the future what the public growth created, the hearers of the audience, as expressive as the Methodist amens, testified to their appreciation of the truth, that instead of our being extremists, we were really as moderate as men could be who had any regard for justice. Little things sometimes have a great effect on the popular imagination and the arrest a few days before of Lord Dudley, the great proprietor of this district, in a raid on a London gambling house, seems to have brought before the public mind in this vicinity, with greater force than anything that has happened for a long time, the monstrous-

ness of the system which gives to an idler such immense revenues while men, women and children by the severest toil only keep soul and body together. I did not allude to Lord Dudley, but merely quoted Dr. Watts's comment on the system:

Satan finds some mischief still
For idle hands to do,

when the audience commenced shouting out expressions which showed that they applied it to Lord Dudley.

Alderman Billings, Mr. George Green and the chairman then made short speeches in the same tone and Herr Flurscheim made a little speech in most excellent English which roused the audience to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. He referred to the situation of Germany and France, to the great things that the English speaking people had done for the world in leading forward on the line of civil and religious liberty and then adjured them to lead forward in the same way in the path to social liberty.

Altogether the meeting was one of the most enthusiastic and effective of a most successful trip, and delighted the heart of the Rev. Harold Rylett, though I think it not unlikely that it will make the conservative portion of his congregation still more bitter towards him. It will certainly stir thought in the Black country.

The meeting at Wednesborough the next night, where County Councilor Slater presided, was just such another meeting as that at Dudley.

As for the meeting at Birmingham on last Saturday evening, that was an immense success. Summer made its appearance in England last Saturday morning, and I could not think that with everything inviting people to outdoor enjoyment it would be possible to fill the great town hall. But I had under rated the organizing ability of my friend T. F. Walker, who, according to the Birmingham Post, is the only supporter we have in Birmingham, for the hall was completely filled, and the temper of the audience was as gratifying as its numbers. Rev. W. Tuckwell of the Established church, rector of Stockton, presided, and on the platform were an astonishing number of clergymen for Saturday night, representing all creeds from the Catholic to the Unitarian. The Post and the Mail say that our doctrines have been making no progress in Birmingham, but the Gazette says I must have been thoroughly satisfied with my reception, and indeed I was. Nothing could have been warmer and more enthusiastic, or more suggestive of the progress that has been steadily but quietly making in the years since I stood before a Birmingham audience.

After a most pleasant Sunday in the delightful home of T. F. Walker I went to Reading on Monday and spoke at a splendid meeting there. Mr. Saunders came down from London to preside, and did it with his usual effectiveness. Herr Flurscheim and D'Arcy W. Reeve (a name which THE STANDARD readers will hear again) made speeches. On Tuesday I went to Manchester in company with Richard McGhee. We had during part of the way the company of Philip Stanhope, M. P., son of Earl Stanhope, and the whip of the new radical party which has been formed in the house of commons in anticipation of the time when the radical element of the liberal

party must step ahead and beyond the more moderate men who are still in the official lead. As a rule I have not much faith in the nobility or their sons, but Mr. Stanhope seems to be thoroughly and intelligently radical in the best sense of the word. He not only expressed in our conversation the belief that the land question was the burning question of the immediate future, and that the way to its settlement was by the taxation of land values, but on the night before he made a most radical speech on the same lines to his constituents in the Black country. Mr. McGhee, who had not gone on to Reading, had heard this speech and had been telling me of it with delight just before Mr. Stanhope entered the carriage.

The Manchester meeting was under the auspices of the Liverpool financial reform association, and they had asked to preside over it the representative in the house of commons of the St. Rollix division of Glasgow. The meeting had been arranged hurriedly, and under great disadvantages, as two important liberal meetings were to be held within a radius of a mile and a half on the same night, and another meeting, to be addressed by Sir Vernon Harcourt, in the same hall, on the following night, and the liberal organization was directing all its efforts to making the latter a success. The meeting was a good one, but not as good a one in point of numbers as I would have liked, the hall—which is, however, an immense one—showing at its far end an array of empty benches. But this was simply the want of the last gilt edge on what was really a great and, I think, a most effective meeting. This was the first time I had ever really spoken in Manchester, though I said a few words there in 1882, when Davitt delivered his first speech after coming out of Portland prison.

The meeting was ostensibly in favor of what we in the United States would call the single tax limited, and the speaking was to a resolution moved by Mr. Hampden Jackson, secretary of the Financial reform association, urging the abolition of duties on tea, coffee, cocoa, dry fruits, gold and silver plate, and the substitution of a tax on land values, levied whether the land be put to use or not. Mr. Purves seconded and I supported the motion, which I did in the name of the American free traders—the single tax men. Prominent on the platform, a link between the present and the past, was our veteran friend, Thomas Briggs, one of the men who had supported Cobden and the free trade movement in the first beginning of the great reform, which is I believe now about entering on its second and final stage.

On Wednesday I got to London and was present at the annual meeting of the Land restoration league, at which, among a large number of our friends from various parts of the country, was a daughter of Richard Cobden.

The public meeting in the evening at the Holborn town hall was a great success. Speeches were made by Mr. Saunders, Mr. Flurscheim, Mr. Singer of South Australia, our countryman Silas M. Burroughs, J. C. Durant, Mr. Wakinslaw of Northumberland, John Ferguson of Glasgow and myself. Some of the papers represent this as a disorderly meeting. This is a great exaggeration. There was a little knot of socialists present, the

same sort of young fellows who have been present in little bodies at several of the meetings which I have addressed, sent there sometimes by the socialist leaders and sometimes directly by the Tories, who did some little hissing among the applause, and some little hooting and shouting, but it amounted to nothing. In justice to the socialists of the Fabian society type it should be mentioned they have no part in this sort of work, and that where they do not directly help in the single tax movement they do not at least oppose it. The socialists who interrupt and who regard us as their greatest enemies, are the followers of Hyndman and his associates. But by and by they too will swing into the current that is steadily and irresistibly setting in our direction.

I went last night with Albert Spicer to address a meeting at Woodford, one of the pleasant villa suburbs of London. The meeting was a crowded one of middle class people in a beautiful little hall. Albert Spicer made a speech of which I wish I could send you a verbatim report. I however inclose a full report of his speech at the Stratford meeting delivered when I was here before, which is, I think, well worth re-printing in THE STANDARD. Only a little while ago Mr. Spicer was our bitter opponent. Now he is doing a quiet work, the importance of which can hardly be over-estimated, and which is telling with peculiar force among the clergy and laity of the Congregational body.

I must cut short my letter again this week, and the fault this time is with our Philadelphia friend, W. J. Atkinson, who has sent me a watch to present to Captain Hamilton Murrell on behalf of the Keystone watch company. I might have done that yesterday afternoon, had I not been so very busy, and if I had known in advance what none of the London papers seem to have mentioned, that Captain Murrell was to have received some presentations at the Mansion House. But now I must break off to go to Colchester where Captain Murrell is to be entertained by his townsmen.

To make up for my own shortcomings, I enclose an interesting article by Mr. Flurscheim. I expect now to go to Paris by the 6th of June and to sail for home about the 20th of July.

HENRY GEORGE.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF LAND REFORMERS AT PARIS.

I propose to give a short sketch of the different schools of land reform which will be represented at Paris, to prepare those of our friends intending to come to the congress, omitting, of course, the school best known to THE STANDARD, the single tax army, headed by the great banner bearer of the movement, our leader, Mr. Henry George.

Let us begin with the French, as they are giving us the hospitality of their capital, and as they may be said to have produced the first single tax men, the physiocrats. The ideas of this school, best represented by Quosnay, are founded on a reasoning differing completely from ours, and their purpose is only apparently the same. It is true, they wanted a single tax (impôt unique), a ground rent taking all the surplus of production beyond the remuneration of capital and labor; but they did not propose to deprive landlords of this revenue; they only wanted them, so to say, to advance it to the state and to recoup themselves by adding the tax to the price of agricultural

products. As the physiocratic ideas never came into practice, the mortification of seeing the total impracticability of such tax shifting was spared them. Instinctively the landlords saw a part of the eat, even though Quesnay brought it out in such an indistinct way, and by overthrowing Turgot, the friend of Quesnay, they put an end to physiocratic hopes. But the idea of the single tax did not die out in France. Its present representatives have gradually modified their theories until they come pretty near to those of the Henry George school.

Among those most prominently active for it we shall meet in Paris: Messieurs Toubeau, Eng. G. Simon and G. Ardent. There is so little difference now between them and the American school that there is no need of giving a detailed account of their theories. I only mention the one point, that they lay a great stress upon spade culture and its results—"la petite culture." Unfortunately, the whole party consists only of a small circle of enlightened men, and up to now has made very little headway. To help them getting better known in their own country and to form a powerful party there will be one of the objects of the congress.

This would be of the utmost importance to their country, which, though formerly leading in the development of social reform, has not a single party now of any importance able to put forth a social programme bearing examination. The real significance of the land question once understood our reform will be bound to make enormous progress in France. This will be of twofold importance:

First, the French are the most revolutionary people in the whole world, and once imbued with a great idea, they do not feel at rest until they have made it conquer all over the world.

Second: They can best destroy that *fata morgana*, which is misleading so many English land reformers—that delusive fancy called peasant proprietorship.

It would be well for those Englishmen who look to the subdivision of farms in the hands of peasant proprietors as a remedy against existing evils, to read the recent works of Mr. Toubeau on French peasant proprietorship, to get an idea what that word really means. In France, the country where the small peasant proprietor is said to reign, free trade in land has brought about a condition of things in which there is now actually less land owned by peasant or laboring cultivators than there was before the revolution of 1789. Only one-tenth of the whole soil of France belongs to peasant proprietors. Over one-half is worked by tenants, whose landlords are much more exacting and less accessible to any human feeling than those of the ancient aristocracy. This corresponds with the facts observed everywhere else. The land owning capitalist is always the worst landlord.

And how about the opulence of those French peasant proprietors we hear so much about, who are always given us as an example? Over 300,000 of the houses inhabited by the agricultural population of France have no windows and only one door. Over one million have a door and one window only. The average income of most of the tenants and agricultural laborers does not exceed \$120 a year, and things are getting worse from day to day. The equal division of land among all the children continually reduces the parcelization. In the absence of restraints from selling it is being concentrated into the hands of capitalists, who turn it into meadows and wild parks, as in Scotland. The right to pawn land like watches and coats increases every year the load of debts by mortgages weighing upon it, until now this burden is estimated to exceed five thousand million dollars, almost half of the assessed value of the land. As the rate of interest of the mortgages is double that of rent, this means that the ground rent, viz., the real possession of even the remaining small portion of land nominally belonging to peasant proprietors, in reality belongs to absentee capitalists.

This state of things also partly obtains

in that part of Germany which does not belong to large landlords (as the old provinces of Prussia, in which 15,000 families own on an average 2,600 acres each), and has been instrumental in causing German land reformers to take a different course, though the end they seek is identical with that of their American and English friends, viz., the single tax. As THE STANDARD is going to give a translation of one of my works containing the leading ideas of the German school, to which the Austrian, Swiss and Dutch friends also adhere, I here limit myself to a short sketch of them.

In explaining the effects of land reform, I generally begin with an investigation of the problem, why producers are prevented from mutually exchanging their products, thus creating a seeming over-production, accompanied by urgent need of the very same goods which appear to be over-produced.

I find its solution in the rent and interest claims of a minority which, instead of being satisfied in goods, are partly made use of to increase the tribute right of said minority, thus preventing the people more and more from consuming the goods produced, whereas the rich minority is consuming a continually decreasing part of them.

The single tax doing away with rent, and interest proper being only a child of rent (it is only through capital being able to buy rent that it can command real interest, viz., that part of interest which is paid beyond the premium of risk and the wages of supervision), this great reform will tear down the wall which capitalism and landlordism is erecting higher and higher between production and consumption, and create real free trade and free exchange, which, even in countries professing to be free trade countries, exists only in name. These theories differ in some points from the American ones; but the means of reform are identical. Only compensation has necessarily to hold a place on the German platform, for without it the movement would be nipped in the bud by the government, and the spirit of the majority of the people would hardly permit any more forcible solution.

I have yet to mention one more school of land reform represented in the congress by Agathon de Potter, of Brussels. It is a small group, but it represents the oldest school of our direction, for the Belgian baron of Colins was its founder as far back as fifty years ago. Belgians are its principal adherents. It wants complete nationalization of the soil, as part of the English land reformers do. The land is to be bought from present owners by means of a law proscribing all indirect inheritances unless a will is made. If there is no will, the state gets all fortunes having no direct heir, and anyhow, twenty-five per cent of them if bequeathed by will.

The Colinsians are not satisfied with land nationalization alone, for they say, that without capital land would be of no use to the workman. They therefore want to give to each farmer a national dowry of capital to enable his starting in business. Free instruction and a strengthening of the moral sense of the community are other planks in their platform.

Here in a short outline we have a picture of all the different shades of land reform, the representatives of which are to meet in congress at Paris, on June 11, at the Hotel Continental.

Let us hope that their weapons of attack upon public ignorance will be strengthened by a peaceful exchange of their opinions, and that the desire to purify the theories forming the base of our great work and the methods of work will find full gratification, to the good of suffering humanity.

MICHAEL FLERSCHMID (Baden Baden).
Birmingham, May 18, 1889.

The Single Tax Conference in Paris.

The arrangements at Paris are as follows: A conversation will be held at the Hotel Continental on the evening of June 10th, commencing at 9 o'clock, when a committee will be elected to arrange the mode of procedure for the conference.

The conference will commence on the 11th inst.

The chair to be taken at 10 o'clock.

At 6 o'clock a banquet will take place.

FROM OUR BROTHERS IN HOLLAND.

Strong Words of Cheer—An Inspiring Letter from Mijneer Jan Stoffel, of Deventer to the English Land Restoration League.

"The Dutch association for the nationalization of the land sends you brotherly greeting, and wishes you God's help in the far reaching task which you have taken upon you, and to the achievement of which we, too, are willing to devote our best endeavors." So writes Mijneer Jan Stoffel, of Deventer, the leader of the Anti-poverty movement in Holland, and the translator of Henry George's works into Dutch, to the annual meeting of the English land restoration league in London. "Whereas formerly we looked upon poverty as a natural and inevitable concomitant of human life on this planet," he continues; "whereas formerly we sought safety in 'labor laws,' in restrictions on liberty, or in works of philanthropy; whereas formerly we arraigned man for his want of virtue, or with Malthus challenged the justice of God, because He denied to some of His creatures a place at the feast of life; now a light has risen in our minds. We know now that poverty, with its dreadful consequences, does not arise from too much or too little legislation, nor from the wickedness of the rich or the poor, nor from the 'ingardiness of nature,' but solely and singly from a social wrong, from the violation of those rights to which man is entitled by virtue of his existence. We know now that poverty is against nature, that this earth of ours will afford plenty for all, if only we can find means to bring human laws into harmony with the great moral law of a righteous Creator; that the earth has been given to all men as a dwelling place and a field of labor; that without it human life is impossible, and that consequently this earth of ours, instead of being the private property of the few, must be the inalienable birthright of all.

We know that the beginning of all social reform must be the carrying into practice of social justice. We must lay the ax to the root of the baleful tree, we must do away with private property in land.

Ten years have now elapsed since Henry George's book, "Progress and Poverty," caused that light to arise in our minds, and in that brief span of time it has become a far-shining beacon to guide all those who believe in the ultimate triumph of social justice and liberty, the dawn of a glorious future for the human race. It is the wrong of private property in land which gives rise to all profit without labor, to inordinate wealth on the part of the few, and bitter poverty for the great majority, and it is this disproportion that entails 'over production,' a low standard of wages, want of work, brutal selfishness and cupidity, drunkenness, prostitution, robbery and murder.

We who are privileged above many others should beware of pronouncing judgment against the poor; for as a justice may not acquit a thief on the ground that the person robbed is lazy, or a drunkard, or leads an evil life, or has contracted an early marriage, so we who enjoy benefits traceable to a social wrong (by getting profit without labor) must not hold ourselves guiltless because the poor are not diligent and sober, honest and pure minded. We force the poor man to carry on a struggle for existence, in which the principle of self-preservation compels him to trample on others to prevent his being trampled on. The question whether the poor or the rich are good or bad is a moral one; the social question is a question of right and wrong; we have no right to enforce a higher standard of morality until right has been done to our less privileged brothers.

To blot out this social wrong is the plain duty of every one, as a citizen, above all as a Christian, and this duty is the more binding on us according as we enjoy a greater share of the goods of this world. It is we who are in the first place answerable for the wretched poverty which surrounds us, and which, in Henry George's words, is at once our sin and our shame. It is our task to find out the means to this end, and, when found, to carry them into practice. Different countries may require varying solutions to the problem. One man may find it harder than another to realize to himself the consequence involved in such a reform. But all who call themselves land restorers agree on this all-important point, that the ultimate aim of our endeavors must be the abrogation of private property in land, the making of honest labor the sole and exclusive source of profit by the restoration of the rights of man."

Will of Course be Adverse.

Springfield, Mass., Republican.

The petition of the single tax men and others to congress "for the appointment of a special committee for the purpose of making a full inquiry into and report upon the expediency of raising all public revenues by a single tax upon the value of land irrespective of improvements, to the exclusion of all other taxes, whether in the form of tariffs upon imports, taxes upon internal productions, or otherwise," is still receiving many signatures from all over the country, and will be an imposing document by the time it reaches Washington. A correspondent sends us a copy and considers it worth attention. There can be no great objection to an investigation by a congressional committee as here requested, and many persons have signed the petition who do not indorse the George doctrine, simply that as much light as possible may be shed upon this question. The committee's conclusion would, of course, be adverse, but if it should assist in stimulating thought upon a subject so vital to government, no one would care to oppose the investigation.

Dana and His Own True Love A-Flirting.
New York Press.

Brother Dana, the [protection] party gate is open. Instead of kissing us across the fence, why don't you come inside?

STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

The new ordinance regulating plumbing in Omaha is based on a wrong principle. Like the building ordinance, it imposes an unjust tax on improvement. The more money a man invests in a building, the more is he taxed by the city. Instead of encouraging building enterprise by a maximum fee, the city meets the builder at the threshold of investment and exacts a per cent of the cost. This is all wrong. It forces builders to under estimate the cost, and makes the official statistics an unreliable record of the city's growth. The law is a premium on falsehood instead of a premium on enterprise.—[Omaha Bee.]

Taxation is not for the benefit of the individual, but of society, hence the values created by society, should be taken for public use and values created by the individual left for the use of the individual creating them.—[Kansas Jeffersonian.]

It is said that of the senior class at Yale forty-five favor free trade, forty-three are protectionists, while eighteen desire a reform in the present tariff.—[Utica Herald.]

Wages are being reduced in all directions. And yet the promise was made last fall that, if high protection won, wages would be increased and prosperity would follow.—[Dayton Workman.]

The single land tax contemplates the placing these burdens on industry where all will be compelled to pay their just proportion.—[Grand Rapids, Mich., Workman.]

A Lesson That Will Not Be Lost.

London Echo.

Yesterday the earl of Dudley appeared at Marlborough street police court charged, in company with others, with using a common gaming house. Mr. George Lewis, on behalf of the young earl and of two other noble lords, said that, as far as they were concerned, the case might be concluded at once, and treated the affair as, after all, a very trivial matter. From one important point of view it is anything but trivial. To-morrow Mr. Henry George, the apostle of land nationalization, speaks in the town hall of Dudley to a great concourse of miners, ironworkers, and others, many of whom work in the Dudley mines, or who in other ways help to swell the wealth of the Dudley coffers. Judging by the fact that the people of Dudley very recently erected a marble statue to the late earl, this noble family is popular in the Black country. Twenty years ago Lord Dudley's rent roll was returned at £123,176, and, as to a large extent he works his own coal and iron, this sum falls far short of the actual income. Legally, of course, any man has a right to spend his money as he pleases, so long as it is not to the direct injury or annoyance of other people. He may get rid of it by presenting a sovereign to each passer-by in the streets, or if that process is too slow, he may pitch his money bags over London bridge, or he may light his pipe with five hundred pound bank notes. No one can hinder him unless insanity is proved, and in neither case would he be parting with his money in a more irrational manner than by playing at bacarat. But how will such ways of using wealth strike those who create it? Let us put ourselves in the position of a miner in one of Lord Dudley's coal pits, who has sent in a notice that unless his wages are raised 6d per ton, or 10 per cent, i.e., about half a crown a week, at the end of June he will come out on strike. He reads in the papers that his noble employer has been arrested in a London gaming house, where he can lose more money in five minutes than the collier can earn in a month of strenuous toil in the bowels of the earth. Is not the knowledge of this fact enough to fill with discontent and anger industrious men who spend their hard earnings in the conscientious discharge of their family obligations? Mr. Henry George, at Dudley, with the earl of Dudley as a text, would carry conviction even to the Primrose leaguers.

The County Councils and the Royalties.

London Christian Commonwealth.

At the Glamorganshire county council, on the 7th inst., Alderman the Rev. Aaron Davies moved:

"That the council petition parliament to bring in a bill to tax royalties and ground rents for county purposes instead of the wheel and van tax which was abandoned."

At the next preceding meeting the council had passed a resolution demanding that Mr. Gosen's van and wheel tax, and Alderman Davies' motion was intended to provide a substitute therefor. The motion gave rise to a very lively debate. The principal arguments against seem to have been these: (1) That, a royal commission being about to sit upon the whole question, the motion was premature, and (2) the royalties are taxed and rated already. To the first objection it was replied that it was above all things the duty of bodies like the county councils to assist the royal commission by giving their collective views, and the unproved assumption in No. 2 was speedily demolished by facts and figures. "Looking roughly at the pros and cons," says the leading paper of the district in commenting on the discussion, "we shall probably be justified in saying that the stoutest opponents of the demand to have such gains duly taxed were those who have some interest in royalties." However, the motion was carried by forty-two votes to twenty-three amid loud applause. Other county councils please copy.

Hope They Liked the Lecture.

Editorial writer in Wolverhampton Express.

I am told that one or two well known Tories managed to get into the front seats of the Dudley public hall without paying on the occasion of Mr. Henry George's lecture.

SPEECH BY ALBERT SPICER,

Delivered in introducing Henry George to a Stratford Audience, Friday, April 5, 1889.

In an ordinary way I confess that I do not care to stand for more than a few minutes between a lecturer and his audience, but to-night we are honored with the presence of Mr. Henry George. He is no ordinary lecturer, and those who stand beside him are bound to give some reason why they do so. (Hear, hear.)

I am perfectly aware that I have been severely criticised for occupying this position. Mr. Sharman, the secretary of the Conservative association, wrote to Mr. Curwen with regard to this meeting, and in that letter there is this sentence: "Our association, ever since 1885, has been impressing upon the electors of West Ham that the final consummation of modern radicalism is confiscation and revolution, and we are glad that Mr. Henry George's meeting will be presided over by so typical a radical as Mr. Albert Spicer (cheers), thus giving his 'official support'—though what he means by 'official' support, I don't know—to the wholesale confiscation advocated by Mr. Henry George in his well known work, entitled 'Progress and Poverty.'" That criticism does not in the least frighten me. All England to-day mourns the loss of one of its greatest orators, one of those men whom all England has learned to love; and yet if we look back upon John Bright's career; if we look back at the conflict which went on with regard to the great free trade discussion, why the criticism of Mr. Sharman is simple milk and water compared with the criticisms that were heaped upon Mr. John Bright's head by a large section of the English community. (Hear, hear.)

I very much wonder whether my critic has intelligently studied the work which he criticizes. (A voice: "Not he.") That work is not a book to be simply glanced over or skipped through, as you would a three volume novel. At any rate, whether he has read it or not, I maintain that he has not grasped its true meaning. He has referred to my position in connection with this matter, and may I ask you just for one moment to turn to a personal question?

I have a stake in this country, and do you think it is likely I should knowingly or willingly support a policy of confiscation? Confiscate one species of property one day, and it will clearly lead to the confiscation of another species of property on another day. During the last twenty years, or rather more, I have taken a fairly active part in the public work of this district, and I challenge my strongest ecclesiastical or political opponent to show one point in which I have raised my voice in support of that which was unfair or unjust to my neighbors, or to my associates. What has led me to take a very deep interest in the question upon which Mr. George has to speak to us to-night? I say honestly it was the present state of England, and in confirmation of that I ask any of you, and those whom I may possibly reach through the medium of the press, to read and study the evidence which was presented to the royal commission which sat on the housing of the poor; to the evidence which was offered in respect to sweating, and the report as to the work of the nailmakers in the Midlands; to the paper read the week before last by Dr. Ogle to the Statistical society, in which he showed most clearly that the agricultural population of this country is drifting into the great cities; to Mr. McDougall's statement at Manchester, that, in his estimation, at the present time we have five and a half millions of people in this country in a state of poverty. I will come much nearer to Mr. Sharman's friends, and will quote the opinion of the archbishop of York. What did he say a short time ago? "There is growing up," says the archbishop, "a set of factors, grave, serious, very prejudicial, and threatening to society itself, unless they can be dealt with, which must be included in the survey which any political philosopher takes of the world—the existence of a class who are in danger of being starved. Our civilization is developing a large class of persons who from first to last are not sure of a meal, or of the common needs of life. Our statesmen, because they have no remedy, take care to have as little to do with the matter as possible." (Hear, hear.) I say that these facts to which I have called your attention justify any lover of his country in looking at this great question. (Hear, hear.) I have done my best to study this question and I have formed a conclusion, though I am quite willing to be argued with and I am quite willing to hear what those who don't agree with me are prepared to say, but I am not prepared to be put down by simple abuse. (Hear, hear.)

On Monday night last a discussion took place in the house of commons, started by the respected member of Nottingham (Mr. Broadhurst), but I confess I have rarely read the account of a debate in the house of commons where both sides showed so much ignorance of the question which they were discussing. On the one side we had a number of remedies suggested, home colonization, emigration—taking the best of our blood and removing it

to other countries, when we have thousands of acres still longing for cultivation; the better housing of the working classes by means of charging one section of the public for the benefit of the other classes—in fact, giving out so many doles of 2s. or 3s. a week to reduce them to a nation of paupers. I am not prepared for such a policy. (Hear, hear.) I do not believe we shall ever bring about actual social equality, but I confess I do desire to give every one of my fellow countrymen an equal chance with myself. (Cheers.) After all, what is at the bottom of this question?

What are the facts which have led to our present sad position? Land has two values; it has, first of all, a value which is given to it by labor, or by the investment of capital, which is practically the accumulation of labor; and it has, secondly, a value which is given to it by the presence of the people. Now, I need not go very far in this great district of West Ham for an illustration. There is not one of you in this room who does not know land lying within a short distance of this hall that, a few years ago, had simply an agricultural value. Now what has increased the value of that land to the price which any of you would have to pay for it if you wanted to build anything upon it at the present time? Simply the presence of the people. The first value which is derived from the investment of capital, or of the labor on it, belongs to the people who have either given the labor or have invested the capital; but that value which is given by the people belongs to the people of their own right. (Hear, hear.) I would ask those who object to Mr. George's proposition to remember that this is not a new thing in English history. This was the principle recognized even in the days of the Norman conquest. When after the Norman conquest the land of England was divided and subdivided among the followers of William the Conqueror, they were allowed to occupy the land and to cultivate it, but in return they gave to the people what I would call a certain rental. It was their duty to provide the military service and the defenses of the country. They also had to help to support the crown, the church and the poor, and thus they gave back to the state the value which had been given to the land by the presence of the people. That went on, directly or indirectly until about 200 years ago, but since then that value which has been created by the people themselves and which I maintain belongs to the people, has been allowed by the state to remain in the possession of the owners of land, and the legislature has allowed the burden of taxation to be put on the people as a whole. From that day to this things have been growing worse in this country. It is perfectly true that the great free trade movement and the introduction of steam in manufacturing, and steam communication which has opened up new countries of the world, and brought us cheap food—these things have tended to mitigate the difficulties that were created by the action of our ancestors 200 years ago. But gradually these things have been equalized, and during the last twenty years we have been feeling the pressure more keenly than ever.

Now what is the remedy? Simply that the value, which has been made by the people, and which belongs to the people, should gradually be taken back for the use of the people as a whole. The right course at the present time is that we should gradually remove taxation from the produce of labor and put it back on the land where it used to be. Now let it be clearly understood that in proposing to tax land values—and to do that gradually—we are not proposing to tax buildings. We are not proposing to tax improvements. Directly you say you are going to tax land values, people rush away with the idea that you are going to tax that which is after all the product of labor. What we simply propose to tax is the unimproved value of the land, taking into consideration the presence of the people. How would this act? You hear people say agriculture is in such a desperate state that they don't know where it will be if you tax land; but in many of those districts unimproved land would have simply a prairie value. Land in great districts like this, which at present is being held for the rise, would be taxed equivalent to land on which buildings had been erected, and thus there would not be such great temptation to "sit" upon land. At the present time you have only to go from here down the Romford road, and on each side of the road you will come across large pieces of land which are simply being held for the rise. They bear no taxation whatever, but, far worse than that, without this land there are many who cannot get work who wish to work, because after all land is the basis of all labor. Without land factories, warehouses, offices and houses cannot be built. Without land we can do nothing. And so I maintain that the gradual taxation of land values would cheapen land all over the country; it would at once bring unoccupied land into the market, and would tend to distribute the population over the whole country and give every man a fair chance of earning an honest wage. (Hear, hear.)

My opponents say this is a policy of confiscation. It only shows how dangerous it is to deal with these extravagant phrases. If it is a policy of confiscation, do you think her majesty's advisers would have recommended her to give her signature to this very principle?

For let me tell you that in South Australia the principle of taxing land values is already in operation, and that act, passed first of all by the colonial legislators, has been approved by the queen of England, and therefore for Mr. Sharman, or any one else, to talk about its being a policy of confiscation simply shows his ignorance, or that he willfully misrepresents the whole case. (Hear, hear.) The same proposition has already passed the lower house in two other colonies, New South Wales and Tasmania, so that those distant lands, which are still connected with old England, see that, even in a country like Australia, where at present there are so many thousand acres still unoccupied, it is the remedy for the present position. This is a subject which no one ought to forget; it is a subject worth studying and worth discussing. I believe that in it we have the solution of our present social difficulties, and therefore I have the greatest pleasure in introducing Mr. Henry George to you to-night. (Hear, hear.)

Discussion Warms Things Up in the Indianapolis Club.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., May 31.—Our league, if not like a green bay tree, flourishes just the same, and the prospects are that some day, and not in the remote future, it may flourish as that tree does. We have been studying "Progress and Poverty" for some time and have been favored with good attendance, each meeting marked by a new face, some times three or four. We have at least two prominent men as members, one a manufacturer, the other a business man, the nature of his calling I have not learned. The past three Sundays we have been engaged in an animated discussion of "Terms" with a prominent attorney, who has taken peculiar delight in propounding technical riddles for us to solve, and although he denies the charge, he "splits hairs" in a most aggravating manner. So far the contest has been in our favor and the last meeting ended in a practical surrender on his part on the question that has proved a stumbling block—that is, whether Mr. George's assumption as to the wages of labor, is correct where he says, "Wages are not paid by capital, but are drawn from the product of the labor." The gentleman is an able lawyer, and a deep thinker, and to capture him for the single tax cause would be to make a notable addition to our ranks.

An interesting incident in connection with last Sunday's meeting is worthy of note. An elderly gentleman came in while the wordy warfare was in progress, and took a seat in the rear of the somewhat long room. We invited him forward, but he declined, saying he just dropped in and did not care to participate. However, in about five minutes when the argument was at its warmest stage, he drew nearer, and after sitting a little time, again picked up his chair and advanced to the very center of the circle and seemingly enjoyed the proceedings hugely. This illustrates how a cold and indifferent disposition gets warmed up when these questions are being discussed.

For the information of our friends, we still meet in Mansur hall every Sunday afternoon, at 3 o'clock.

L. P. CUSTER.

From a Single Tax Peddler.

HARTFORD, Conn.—I read in THE STANDARD of the formation of a single tax club in Meriden, Conn., and last week called on the president of the organization and had a talk with him. He spoke encouragingly of the club's prospects, and was glad to meet a single tax peddler who visited one-third of the houses in Meriden every three weeks. As I cannot be in Meriden on Sundays to attend the meetings, I will take care to have many substitutes. The world does move.

JOHN CAHNS,
106 Windsor street.

Stating the Problem to Farmers in Plain, Everyday English.

Washington Territory Eagle.

Here is a proposition for Farmer John Upthecreek: You own a well improved farm of 160 acres—your home. Your raw land at the time you bought it, when the country was new, cost you \$5 per acre. You have improved your farm and made it worth \$25 per acre. You pay taxes on \$25 land, that has been made thus valuable by your own industry and enterprise. On the same day that you bought your farm, Mr. H. Charles Downtown purchased the remainder of the section at the same price per acre. He did not take off his coat and go to work, as you did, and make the land produce something to sustain life. His land has produced nothing; he has not given employment to any one; he has not made an effort. All this time he has paid taxes on "unimproved" land and you have paid taxes on "improved" land. You have paid vastly more taxes on your land than he has on three times that amount. In the meantime your improvements have steadily increased the value of his land, which of course he contemplated. He does not want to sell it. He can afford to keep it. The taxes don't amount to much, and he knows that in a few years your land will need rest and you and your neighbors will be glad to pay more for his bunch grass than old land is worth. Now, Mr. Upthecreek, can you see where you would lose if Mr. Downtown had to pay the same amount of taxes on his land which he is holding on speculation, that you pay on your home? It may be claimed that it would probably force Mr. Downtown to sell to some one who wanted to use the land, but you would not be likely to object to that. Think it over, neighbor Upthecreek.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE, }
NEW YORK, June 4. }

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week 55,003
Received during week ending June 4 563

Total 55,566

Contributions received during the past week, other than those received from regular subscribers, have been as follows:

W. H. Harvey, Baltimore, Md. 40
Louis Lesaulnier, Red Bud, Ill. \$1 00
C. A. Carlson, Masonville, Mich. 2 00
F. A. Neidig, Muscatine, Iowa 30
Mahoney & Baker, Albany, N. Y. 10 00
A. H. Wynn, Toledo, Ohio 25
Dr. H. S. Chase, St. Louis, Mo. 1 00
Harry B. Bowerman, New York 1 00
D. M. Thompson, Plainfield, N. J. 1 00

\$16 95

Sundry stamps 18

Contributions from the public previously acknowledged in THE

STANDARD 1,426 13

Total \$1,443 26

Below are some extracts from letters received:

G. A. A. Roberts, River Falls, Wis.—Our farmers are beginning to see how they have been enriching the speculators and paying for the privilege of doing so. Quite a number of the twenty-two names inclosed are those of farmers.

Chas. H. Mueller, Sturgis, S. Dak.—Inclosed find sixty-two petitions. I find little difficulty in getting farmers to sign, because taxes here are very high and an inquiry into the matter meets with general approval. I have distributed quite a number of single tax and free trade pamphlets and they are causing comment and apparently doing good. I am getting members of the Farmers' alliance interested.

Dr. H. S. Chase, St. Louis, Mo.—I am glad that Henry George gave us a gentle hint to do something for the enrollment cause, so I send you \$1. If every subscriber to THE STANDARD would send \$1 to the fund it would be large enough to enable the committee to accomplish its purpose. During the last six months I have distributed 8,000 tracts, mostly to laborers.

Ed. Hill, Pittsburg, Pa.—All of these signers were republicans last fall, but the reduction that has since taken place in wages is making them think.

W. L. Crozman, Boston, Mass.—The gentleman who signs in pencil has seen the cat. He has built many houses and good ones, but he has always found that when he wished to purchase land adjoining that on which he had built, the owner invariably charged an increased price for it, because of the improvements this gentleman had made. He did not have to enquire his brain to see the cat, and he has not even read any literature on the subject. The matter is so simple that it just occurred to him. He is not a land speculator, for when he purchases a few lots he immediately builds on them.

James Mott, Mason City, Iowa.—I have been a Knight of Labor for some time, and last winter embraced every opportunity offered during debate for preaching the single tax doctrine. At first I was scoffed at and ridiculed, but now there are quite a number among us who think that the single tax is the only way out of the present social difficulty. No later ago than last Friday I was called upon to speak about the single tax by one of our members who has recently become a convert to the doctrine. If I had time I could obtain two hundred signatures. Soliciting them gives me a splendid opportunity for talking single tax.

M. V. Nichols, Kansas City, Mo.—Mr. Shearman's lecture here, I think, will result in much good to the cause. One of the signers of the inclosed petitions is a shoe dealer and a very intelligent man. He says he has always been a protectionist and voted for Harrison, but that he now has had enough of protection and is done with it.

S. Byron Welcome, Los Angeles, Cal.—I find that the more enlightened people are that I approach, even though they never heard of the single tax before, the more successful I am in obtaining their names. Of course this does not relate to protectionists, for the more enlightened they are the more opposed they are to allowing the appointment of an investigating committee to begin investigating the subject.

Bread Cast on the Waters Returned.

ANACOSTIA, D. C., June 3.—I read with much interest Mr. Crossdale's article in last week's issue entitled "What One Man Can Do," and on page 6 the communication of Chester C. Platt, referring to the position taken by Professor Andrews of Cornell university on the subject of taxation. I studied political economy under Professor Andrews at Brown university in '83, and of course had an opportunity to study his character. When I became a single tax man I sent him a copy of "Progress and Poverty." I knew he would read and appreciate it, for as a professor he always encouraged discussion in the class and was always fair and honest in his declarations. I am glad I sent him the book. The "bread cast upon the waters" has returned.

CARROLL W. SMITH.

THE STATE OF WASHINGTON.

The Leading Republican Paper and the Democratic State Convention Declare Against Any Sale of Public Lands and in Favor of State Ownership of All Wharf and Tide-Flat Lands.

SEATTLE, Wash., May 24.—Delegates to the constitutional convention have been elected, the republicans having about two-thirds. The Post-Intelligencer (rep.), the most influential newspaper in the territory, is advocating constitutional inhibition in regard to school and tide lands, and favors a system of leasing. Here are three clauses from the resolutions passed at the democratic convention which, though they do not go very far in themselves, yet indicate a radical tendency:

That we are opposed to the sale of any school lands, whether agricultural, mineral or grazing, but insist that the title to the fee in the same must remain vested in the state, and we are in favor of leasing such lands in small holdings to actual occupants on reasonably long terms, with rent payable annually, and applying the rents derived therefrom to the support of the public schools. When such lands are covered with merchantable timber we favor the sale of the timber only, and not the land, the proceeds of the timber so sold to go into the school fund, and the timber not to be sold for less than ordinary stumpage rates prevailing in the locality of the land at the time of the sale.

We favor such action by the constitutional convention as will secure to the state of Washington ownership and control of lands known as tide-flat lands, and that such lands shall not be sold or granted, save at public auction, to private parties for less than their actual cash value, and then only in limited quantities for the purpose of improvement and reclamation; the proceeds from the sale of such lands to constitute a fund for the erection and maintenance of the public buildings of the state. But in case the said lands are occupied in good faith at the time the constitution goes into effect for wharfage, mercantile, manufacturing or other purposes, the improvements should be appraised and the owners of the improvements shall be compensated to the extent of the value of the improvements, out of the purchase price for which such lands are sold.

We demand purity at the ballot box, and we recommend to the careful consideration of the convention the Australian system of voting, as being a system calculated to secure that end.

One of the delegates to the democratic convention was a single tax man, who tried to get the following resolution adopted:

Inasmuch as an increase in land values does not represent an increase in the aggregate wealth of the community, but simply the power the owners of land have of forcing from producers a greater share of what is produced; be it

Resolved, as the sense of the delegates here representing the democracy, that there ought to be constitutional inhibition to prevent the state from being robbed of its natural resources, particularly the school and tide lands.

The preamble killed the resolution, but there was a lively time in the convention before the vote was taken. Everybody had something to say on the subject, and our single tax friend, who is only a machinist, got in a good deal of work. He handled the subject admirably, and commanded the general respect; and although some of the ablest lawyers in the territory were there, it was conceded that he had the best of the argument. He is a good debater, and with a little practice will become a very able speaker. His earnestness and enthusiasm are catching.

He distributed single tax tracts right in the convention and talked single tax during recess to quite a large number of the delegates. I must withhold his name lest too wide a publication might injure him at his trade. He made some converts in the convention, as I afterwards learned, and is now circulating a petition to the members of the constitutional convention asking for constitutional inhibition with regard to school and tide lands, and also in regard to taxing personal property. The petition also prays for the government printing and distribution of ballots.

EVER WORKING.

Merriewold Park Company.

A meeting of the subscribers to the capital stock of the proposed company for which Messrs. McCabe, Post and Smith have acquired a tract of some 1,700 acres more or less in Sullivan county, was held on Tuesday of last week. There were present some forty out of a total of fifty-six subscribers. The committee reported that they had purchased the property briefly described in last week's STANDARD, and recommended an organization with a view to incorporation. An election of seven trustees with power to add two to their number was held and resulted in the choice of the following gentlemen: William McCabe, M. A. Smith, Benjamin Doblin, W. D. Williams, W. B. Scott, W. M. Vail and W. T. Croasdale.

It was decided to issue 500 shares of stock at \$10 per share, each share entitling the subscriber to an acre plot of ground to be held as his individual property and a proportionate undivided interest in the park lands, lake, etc. The trustees were directed to offer the next fifty shares in lots of not more than ten shares at \$20 per share, giving single tax advocates the preference over all others in case there should be demands for more than

fifty shares. At the present writing this lot has all been taken up and the next fifty will probably be offered at a higher price.

The name chosen was Merriewold park company.

The trustees held a meeting after the subscribers had adjourned and elected W. T. Croasdale temporary chairman and W. B. Scott temporary secretary-treasurer. Communications should be addressed to Mr. Scott at 12 Union square.

A CLUB FOR BROOKLYN.

Large, Convenient Quarters Like the Manhattan Single Tax Club—The Reception to Henry George—Going Down the Bay in a Steamer to Meet Him, and a Big Meeting at Night.

The Central single tax club of Brooklyn met in their old quarters at 44 Court street for the last time on Wednesday, May 29. The club house committee had satisfactorily concluded their negotiations for a domicile in which, like the Manhattan single tax club of New York city, to keep open house the year round.

These premises are every way suitable for this enterprising club in its present stage of development. The house is thirty-one feet wide. On the main floor are a reception room, two moderate sized rooms suitable for office or committee rooms, another room, 10x31 feet, and a double parlor, 18x45 feet, covered with Axminster carpet and well adapted not only for debates, lectures, etc., but also for entertainments in which the lady friends of the members, or the cause, may well participate. Additional facilities for amusements, refreshments and the social features of the club are afforded by a commodious basement.

A report was received from William T. Croasdale, Dr. M. R. Levenson and Benjamin Doblin, who had been appointed by the Manhattan club to confer with regard to a reception to Henry George and to a conference, which have been published in recent issues of THE STANDARD.

An interesting debate followed, which brought out Mr. Croasdale in an eloquent and most interesting statement of the progress of the cause and its present extremely favorable condition. He was loudly applauded, and the Brooklyn committee which recently visited the Manhattan club were authorized to constitute themselves, with the Manhattan gentlemen a joint committee, with full powers.

The joint committee lost no time in organizing. Mr. Croasdale was called to the chair, and Mr. Curley was elected secretary. The committee adopted the following resolutions:

1. If practical, the formal demonstration shall be the meeting of Henry George down the bay in a steamer chartered for the purpose.

2. That Henry George be invited to deliver an address on the evening of the day following his return and the demonstration on the bay.

The secretary was instructed to notify the clubs within convenient distance that the next meeting of the joint committee would be at the Manhattan club, 36 Clinton place, New York, on Friday evening, June 7, and to request them to send delegates to co-operate with or to join this committee.

All single tax organizations in and around New York are hereby notified accordingly.

EDWIN A. CURELY,
Sec. Joint Committee.

Opened Club Rooms in Reading.

READING, Pa., May 28.—A number of the single tax men here have formed an organization under the name of the Reading single tax society, with the following officers: President, Charles S. Prizer; vice-president, Dr. S. R. Rittenhouse; secretary, Paul C. Anthony; treasurer, Charles Corkhill; corresponding secretary, Grant Nagle.

The headquarters of the society will be in a large, attractive room at 402½ Penn street, where a liberal supply of single tax literature, all the leading magazines and periodicals will be furnished for the use of members and visitors.

The society will have its room opened every evening, in charge of a member duly appointed, and we hope to make the time spent there by visitors both pleasant and profitable.

We begin our existence under the most favorable auspices, with the determination to accomplish something in this community. Well equipped financially, with an enthusiastic membership and a confidence in the justice of our movement, we are prepared to push forward with the army of our fellow workers who have done so much to advance the truth in other cities.

GRANT NAGLE, Cor. Sec.

Will Join in the Reception to Henry George.

JERSEY CITY, May 31.—At the last regular meeting of the Hudson county single tax league the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That the Standard single tax league of Hudson county coincide with the Manhattan and Brooklyn single tax clubs in the proposal to take part in a reception to be given to Henry George upon his return to America; and that the league approve of the holding of an informal conference of single tax men in New York city at that time for the purpose of considering questions relating to the advancement of the single tax movement, and that they invite the co-operation of single tax clubs throughout the country.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER, Cor. Sec.

TO CAPTURE THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES.

What the Ohio Single Tax Men Propose—The Vote on the Electoral Reform Bill—An Official Organ for the League to be Started.

COLUMBUS, Ohio, May 28.—The following circular is about to be issued by the state executive board of the Ohio single tax league:

OHIO SINGLE TAX LEAGUE,
STATE EXECUTIVE BOARD.

To Single Tax Men of Ohio: It is important that we make some decided attempt to advance our principles as much as possible in the coming fall campaign in this state, and also that we do this work in such a manner as not to compromise in any way the several single tax clubs which are organized solely for educational work.

With this end in view, it should be our aim to induce the democratic party to take an advanced position on the tariff question at their coming state convention; to indorse the proposed amendment to the state constitution placing the taxing power wholly in the hands of the legislature; and to indorse the Australian ballot system.

To carry out these aims we suggest that all single tax men as individuals shall join the democratic societies, clubs, etc., in their immediate vicinity, and make use of them as follows: First—By teaching them our views on tariff, tax and ballot reform whenever practicable. Second—By using their influence in securing the selection of such delegates to the party conventions as are known to be in sympathy with our views.

In preparation for the coming election, let the single tax men in each district, whenever practicable, select such men as are in sympathy with us and who are prominent enough in the democratic party to make their election reasonably certain, and secure their assurance to support the above aims in convention and legislature; then use our influence to secure their election as delegates to the state convention and members of the legislature. Push the candidates so selected by writing to the different democratic papers, setting forth their claims solely as democrats for the place selected. Secure, if possible, the indorsement of one or more democratic clubs of their candidacy, thus bringing them before the people, and if possible force the machine to select them.

C. S. WALKER, Chairman.

The state committee of the single tax league, at a meeting in Columbus on May 26, heard the report of Mr. Potwin, who had control of the Australian ballot bill agitation in Ohio, and a vote of thanks for his energetic labors in behalf of the bill was tendered him. The vote on the bill was as follows:

Aye—1, Alexander, R.; 2, Braddock, D.; 3, Brown, R.; 4, Crook, R.; 5, Door, D.; 6, Ford, R.; 7, Geyser, R.; 8, Massie, R.; 9, Morrison, R.; 10, Rannels, R.; 11, Rathbone, R.; 12, Richardson, R.; 13, Stueve, R.; 14, Stull, R.; 15, Taylor, R.; 16, Townsend, R.

No—1, Adams, D.; 2, Coulter, R.; 3, Cowgill, R.; 4, Glover, R.; 5, Kerr, R.; 6, Mehofey, D.; 7, Robertson, D.; 8, Snyder, R.; 9, Zimmerman, D.

Not Voting—1, Barrett, R.; 2, Carlin, R.; 3, Cole, R.; 4, Cutler, R.; 5, Davis, R.; 6, Huffman, D.; 7, Lindsay, D.; 8, Mack, R.; 9, Mortley, D.; 10, Sennett, D.; 11, Wallace, D.

It was decided to establish an official organ or newspaper for this state, and Mr. C. A. Potwin of Zanesville was selected as manager and editor. The rate of subscription is fifty cents a year.

EDWARD L. HYNNEMAN.

The Manhattan Single Tax Club.

The meeting last Sunday evening was addressed by A. J. Steers on "The effects of the single tax." The points of his lecture were that the institution of such tax would increase wages, reduce the cost of living, increase the demand for labor and its products, make easy the farmer's lot, and purify politics. He said the question of the ages had been "How shall we do justice?" The American answer to this question was, "Adopt the single tax." The usual discussion followed. Next Sunday W. N. Meagher, president of the National debating society, will address the club on "The fallacy of Professor Denslow's economic science."

Mr. Wolff has contributed a full set of Appleton's encyclopedia to the club; and the Merriewold park company at its last meeting donated ten dollars to the library fund.

Mr. Shearman's Visit to Pueblo.

PUEBLO, Col.—Mr. Shearman delivered an address here to an audience of 400, two-thirds of whom were workmen; a large delegation from the carpenters' union, and many K. of L. were present. His arraignment of the protective tariff was received with applause, and while all he said about the single tax was not fully appreciated, yet it has set many to asking questions. If his visit can be followed up some time this year by one from Mr. Croasdale and Mr. Post, Colorado will be found among the foremost states in the advocacy of free trade and free land. We desire to make public expression of our gratitude to Mr. Croasdale, who was instrumental in getting Mr. Shearman to visit us.

J. W. BRENTLINGER,
Sec. Commonwealth S. T. Club.

Organized in Mr. Powderly's Home.

WYOMING, Pa. June 1.

I attended last evening the organization of a single tax club at Nonkes hall, Scranton, Pa. There was a small attendance of very intelligent and enthusiastic gentlemen, mostly young and middle aged men. They seemed well grounded in the doctrine of the single

tax and will undoubtedly devote their whole energies to "spreading the light." I therefore predict for the Scranton single tax club much progress.

WILLIAM HANCOCK.

The Single Tax and Rent.

MARITIME ASSOCIATION, NEW ORLEANS, La., May 18.—Here is a matter now under discussion concerning which it seems to me there is a great deal of unnecessary confusion, and which I think I can put at rest. It is an objection raised to the practical working of the single tax, which involves a curious mental reversal of the cart and horse.

To quote from Mr. Thornton's article, "Briefly stated it amounts to this: As the tax on land increases, its market value will decrease. Whenever the tax reaches its maximum limit the land will cease to have a market value. There will then be nothing on which to levy."

Mr. Thornton rightly says that this difficulty of levying the tax is only apparent, but he does not show why.

The objection is founded upon the idea that the rent of a piece of land is the current rate of interest upon the selling price. What is the selling price? It is the capitalized value of the yearly rent at the current rate of interest. Will anyone who offers the objection kindly inform me how he would go about finding out the selling price of a piece of land at any time if he did not know the rent?

The yearly rent of a piece of land is the thing of all others easiest to find out. That, the rent, would be the thing assessed. What is the use of throwing in unnecessary complications by capitalizing the rent to get at the selling price, and then reversing the operation to get at the rent again?

Suppose we begin by taking fifty per cent of the rent in lieu of all other taxes. Then let the tax increase to ninety per cent of the rent. The selling value will almost be gone. If we then increase to one hundred per cent it will disappear. But as the selling value is a little trick with figures merely, and doesn't enter into the question at all, it being one depending entirely upon the easily ascertained and ever present factor, rent, with which only our assessors are concerned, why should we stop to talk about the selling price at all? Let the selling price stay or disappear, go up in a balloon or to the moon. Rent is what we are after, and that will stay as long as the people stay.

JOHN S. WATERS.

A Special Commission to Examine Into the Tax System in Boston.

BOSTON, MASS., June 2.—Acting under an order passed by the Boston city council last winter Mayor Hart appointed, on June 1, Hon. George G. Crocker, Hon. Jonathan A. Lane and William Minot, jr., as a special commission for examining the tax system as now administered in this city, with a view to such changes in theory or practice as may seem proper.

In THE STANDARD of January 19 on page 9, will be found editorial reference to a speech delivered by Jonathan A. Lane at the Merchants association banquet. He is opposed to taxing personal property, and if I mistake not Wm. Minot spoke before the single tax league here last winter on the justice of taxing real estate only. It would be a good idea for Boston single tax men to interview these gentlemen, write them letters and in every way urge the adoption of the single tax here. Mr. Lane was not a single tax man early in the year, but he has been reading "Progress and Poverty" and there may be some hope of him.

W. L. CROSMAN.

Political Economy as an Exact Science.

NEW YORK.—As "Political Economy," since the publication of "Progress and Poverty," is fast acquiring a place among the exact sciences it may be curious to note that originally the term was used in an exact sense. In 1677 "Political Arithmetic" was the name given to the study now called "Political Economy." In a recently printed catalogue of old books I find the following:

Sir W. Petty, F. R. S. Political Arith. etc, or a discourse concerning the extent and value of lands, people, buildings; husbandry, manufactures, commerce, fishery, artisans, seamen, soldiers, public revenues, interest, taxes, superlucration, registries, banks, valuation of men, increasing of seamen, of militias, harbors, situation, shipping, power at sea, etc., as the same relates to Great Britain and Holland, Zealand and France. [1677] 1680.

It seems to me that the restoration of the old term Political Arithmetic, applying it to the doctrines of Henry George, would be more clearly definitive than the term "The New Political Economy."

DAVID EDWARD CRONIN.

A Good Idea.

Philadelphia Justice.

We think it advisable that the friends of the single tax all over the country should write personal letters, and send appropriate literature to the recently elected delegates to the convention for the adoption of a constitution for the new state of Montana. Following are some of the delegates:

Democrats—Judge Dillon, Butte; R. B. Smith, Dillon; C. R. Middleton, Miles City; W. M. Bickford, Missoula.
Republicans—Hon. B. Platt Carpenter, Helena; Chas. S. Marshall, Missoula; W. J. Burleigh, Custer; H. J. Haskell, Dawson; Judge Mitchell, Deer Lodge.

AN AUSTRALIAN RADICAL.

Charles L. Garland, M. P. and President of the Sydney Single Tax League, Spends a Few Hours in New York on His Way to England and the Paris Conference—Full of Hope and Enthusiasm—Things Moving Very Fast in the Australian Colony—Straws that Show the Wind—The Single Tax in South Australia.

Mr. Charles L. Garland of Sydney, member of the New South Wales parliament from the electorate of Carcoar, and president of the Sydney branch of the Single tax league of New South Wales, passed through New York toward the close of last week en route for England, where he will make a short stay, and then return to Sydney by way of the Suez canal.

Mr. Garland will attend the international conference of single tax men at Paris. He carries with him a letter of greeting from the Sydney league to Henry George, urging the latter to come to the antipodes and help along the great reform movement there.

The shortness of time prevented Mr. Garland from seeing but few friends in this city on his way across the continent. He managed to meet Warren Worth Bailey at Chicago, and some other active men there.

Mr. Garland gave a glowing account of the progress of events in his own country, and spoke with great satisfaction of the overthrow of protectionism in their recent campaign. Sir Henry Parkes, whom he called the Gladstone of Australia, deliberately invited defeat, he said, when he discovered that he had not a strong enough backing to carry through the programme he had laid out. The protectionists, headed by Dibbs, had, however, hardly got well seated when it was moved that "the government has not the confidence of the house." This was carried, and Parkes came in again and formed the present administration.

Sir Henry Parkes, Mr. Gardner says, is an advanced thinker and will not be found lagging behind the times. Being a politician, however, he will proceed by short, easy steps. They have a tariff now only on tea, sugar, bacon, butter, rice, kerosene, candles, tobacco, opium and a few other articles. By degrees the tax on most of these will be abolished and direct taxation, and later on, no doubt, taxation of land values, will be resorted to.

As it is, there are three openly avowed single tax men sitting in the New South Wales parliament, Mr. Garland himself, Mr. Alfred Allen of Paddington, and Mr. J. Seaves of Gloster. There are a lot of other members who thoroughly believe in the doctrine, but who, on account of the backwardness of their constituents, are afraid to come out and confess their faith.

However, Mr. Garland is inclined to believe this condition of affairs will not last long, and he thinks the people of the colony will before a great while hear some pretty radical utterances issue from the parliamentary assemblage.

As to the single tax movement in the colony he spoke in very hopeful terms. Very rapid advance had been made within a short space of time, and though the idea had not yet become a political factor, yet it was in many people's minds and was fast gaining strength and influence. Organizations, he said, were fast springing up all over the country, and bright men were everywhere active in the work of propaganda.

He spoke in highest praise of John Farrell, editor of the Australian Standard, published in Sydney, of John Cotton, T. J. Hebblewhite, H. Harding, Thomas Halloran, Percy R. Meggy, secretary of the Sydney single tax league, of E. W. Foxall and a lot of others, who, he said, were incessant in their labors.

What was needed now more than anything else, he declared, was the presence of Henry George. A campaign arranged there like the campaign in Great Britain would set the whole country in a flame and drive the movement further ahead than years of the present sort of agitation. "Progress and Poverty," "Social Problems" and "Protection or Free Trade" had a wide circulation and multitudes were waiting to hail the author.

years in parliament, nor has his activity in the single tax movement and his recent acceptance of the presidency of the Sydney league shaken the confidence of his constituents. True, he lost a few wealthy squatters who grew alarmed at the prospect of having their land taxed, but he held the bulk of his people in a solid mass and was returned at the recent election at the head of the polls. Just before sailing for the United States Mr. Garland wrote to his constituents placing his resignation in their hands so that they might elect a successor to act for them should any question of importance come before parliament during his absence, but by a very flattering vote they declined to accept his offer, and declared that they preferred to have his seat remain vacant during his absence.

Mr. Garland corrects the story, which has had wide circulation in this country, about the adoption of the single tax in the colony of South Australia.

A bill taxing land values was, he says, carried through the lower house, but was thrown out by the upper house which is composed for the most part of large landowners whose interests were in direct conflict with such a bill.

Mr. Garland took dinner at the Reform club and met a few American free traders on Friday evening, and early next morning sailed on the Cunard steamer Aurania for Liverpool.

THE AUSTRALIAN "STANDARD."

A Bright Weekly Newspaper on the Lines of the New York "Standard" Started in Sydney.

"The Australian Standard" is the name of a single tax weekly newspaper published at Sydney, N. S. W., a copy of the preliminary issue of which has just reached us. It is a transmutation from the Land Nationalizer that in turn sprang out of the Lithgow Enterprise, both of which did good work in the cause of equal rights to land. The Australian Standard is a well printed, eight page paper, having the same general appearance as the New York STANDARD, and is under the very able management of John Farrell. The Standard says of itself:

While dealing chiefly with questions of political economy on the lines which have made its splendid progenitor, the New York STANDARD, such an influence for good, it will be made readable from beginning to end. Current political matters will be dealt with in the light of a new knowledge, and the names of such contributors as "Unit," T. J. Hebblewhite, E. W. Foxall, Thomas Halloran, H. Harding, and Messrs. J. Brunt, Murray Fraser, and L. H. Berens and Ignatius Singer of Melbourne, Brisbane and Adelaide respectively will be sufficient assurance to such of our readers as are already familiar with their writings that these subjects will be handled with ability. At the same time lighter matter will abound and tales and poetry of a high order will be found in its pages. New features will be introduced and the paper much enlarged as soon as possible. It rests entirely with our friends and the public to say how soon.

The preliminary issue of the Australian Standard starts off with a very strong, two-page article by John Farrell, describing the mission of the paper and the lines on which it will work. After that follows an article by T. J. Hebblewhite, entitled "What the Election Has Shown;" one by H. Harding, entitled "Who Pays the Taxes?" one by Thomas Halloran, entitled "A Lesson from Tasmania;" one by L. H. Berens, entitled "Does a Protective Tariff Benefit the Worker?" and one by Frank Cotton, entitled "The Democracy of Christianity." The fourth page is filled with short, pointed editorials, and under the headings of "Political" and "Reform Notes" on other pages is gathered a variety of piquant and interesting items. Some original verses and a careful selection of reprint matter and a column of society events complete the make up of the paper.

As an instance of the good things the Standard presents to its readers we take the following eloquent and forcible passage from the article over the signature of John Farrell attacking the system of protectionism and pointing out the signs of the change going on all over the English speaking world—of advancement toward that true and complete free trade which has for its object not alone the destruction of all tariffs, but of the whole system of land monopoly as well:

Free trade has not yet begun its existence. The system of revenue tariffism prevailing in Great Britain is only one step nearer to it than the system of legalized class robbery and national hindrance—miscalled protection—existing in the United States. How can trade be free when the source of all trade is locked within gates at which heavy tolls are demanded? No such fetters could be forged about trade by any tariff restriction as those riveted by land monopoly. Could there be any free trade in water while the only spring from which it could be drawn was tabooed to the drawers save under penalty? They might, after paying the penalty and getting the water, being allowed to exchange it among themselves without restriction, and such a miserable moiety

of freedom is all that trade now enjoys in the most advanced countries. It is so small a moiety that many find it impossible to get water. To show how all may get it is the task we undertake. Every aspect of the question will be entered into, every objection against it met face to face and dealt with, not in a partisan spirit, but upon its merits. It will not be the province of this journal to confuse, but to make clear, and instead of juggling with statistics it will rely upon principles. It will support every advance in the direction of free trade without necessarily identifying with any man or party, and will oppose protectionism altogether as a thing false in principle and injurious in application, a system designed to build up monopolies at the cost of labor and to the loss of the community, and which is only advocated by two classes—honest well intentioned men who do not understand it, and designing rogues who do. Revenue tariffism, mistakenly called free trade, as in England and New South Wales, has no claim on us, save that it is opposed to the more thievish protective idea. We want to abolish the custom house entirely, and the way to do this is not by enlarging its operations, but by reducing them. To impose further taxation, especially of a protective nature, would merely be to build higher and stronger the wall which stands between us and freedom, and which must be pulled down. The free traders (so-called) are everywhere beginning to know this—their most honored leaders have always known it. The ultimate abolition of the custom house has the indorsement of every profound student of political economy from Mill to Gladstone. They all agree that social regeneration must progress by a certain road. Henry George has merely explored that road, and shown that it is straight and safe, and broad enough for the feet of all humanity. He has brought back with him a chart of it, which has been closely scrutinized and found to be reliable. The recent address presented to the great reformer by the Liverpool branch of the Financial reform association—pre-eminently the free trade body of Great Britain—accepting his doctrine fully; the magnificent reception given to him throughout England by the best of those chosen and trusted as leaders of the people; the unparalleled growth of the single tax movement in the United States, where to-day it is preached by hundreds of newspapers and hundreds of thousands of men (among them many who, like Judge Reid, have renounced protection for truth); the wonderful advancement of the new philosophy apparent in the European countries; the approval of Count Tolstoy in Russia; of Michael Flursheim, in Germany; of Davitt, Dr. Parker, Stuart Headlam and William Saunders in England—these are signs not to be misread. So also are the utterances of Sir Robert Stout, in New Zealand; of Sir Samuel Griffith in Queensland and of the Rev. Charles Strong in Victoria. In this colony we would be blind indeed who did not see the writing on the wall, for the characters are large. In the numerous lectures springing into life all over it; in the dissemination by the free trade association of Henry George's crushing indictment of both revenue tariffs and protective duties; in the debates and discussions and lectures that every day grow more numerous; in the letters and articles continually appearing in the various country papers; in the liberal opening of the columns of the city press to our writers, and the ample reports given of our meetings; in the sharp questions asked and the evasive answers given during the last election; in the misrepresentations of our aims, and the direct appeals made by the protectionist party to their natural associates, the land monopolists, to oppose land value taxes; in the open adoption of our principles by a number of legislators, and the hesitation to reject them evinced by others, and, lastly, in the existence of the Australian Standard, there are surely indications of momentous political change.

To Organize in Denver.

ERIE, Pa., June 3.—A notice in the Erie Daily Times of last Saturday brought together a few friends of the cause to discuss the question of organization, and it was decided to issue a call for a meeting through THE STANDARD to all friends of the single tax in Erie. A meeting is to be held at 505 French street, room 14, on Sunday, June 16, at 4 p. m., at which time we hope to organize for propaganda work. J. L. BARCOCK.

The Condition Confronts Him, and, While He Opposes It, He Will Take Advantage of It.

Albany, Mich., Labor Journal.

Hon. S. O. Fisher has completed the purchase from J. T. Hurst of Wyandotte, of a tract of pine timber in Gladwin county, estimated to cut 50,000,000 feet of logs. As he failed in congress to reduce the war tariff on lumber, he now proposes to reap his share of the plunder, and he is right in doing so. His unselfish efforts in behalf of commercial freedom, were not appreciated by the wage slaves he sought to emancipate. If he had labored in behalf of "monopoly and intelligence" he would have been re-elected by overwhelming majorities "and a grand display of fireworks in the evening." But seeing that the intelligent monopolists and ignorant laboringmen of his district were against him, he now proposes to take advantage of that system under which millionaires and paupers are made, and we wish him unbounded success and hope he may be able to hire those laboringmen who betrayed him at the ballot box last fall, to put in his logs at fifty cents per day.

Let Us Hope So.

Indianapolis News.

The time has gone by when the Randall idea of no reform in taxation and the Hill idea of no reform in election corruption can win.

IN COURSE OF THE DEBATE

A Member of the New South Wales Parliament Introduces the Single Tax Question in the Midst of a Tariff Discussion and Announces Himself a Straight-Out Single Tax Man and in Favor of Abolishing Custom Houses.

SYDNEY, N. S. W.—I enclose an extract taken from the New South Wales Parliamentary Hansard of a speech delivered by Alfred Allen, M. P. for Paddington, in the assembly on the evening of April 2. Paddington, without exception, is the most important constituency in this colony. It is not the largest, but it is the most influential. There are over ten thousand voters on the roll. Mr. Allen is a member of the Society of friends and a gentleman of considerable ability and of undoubted moral character. I forward this to THE STANDARD, that your readers may see the kind of advocates the gospel of equal rights is finding here.

The motion to which the speaker refers was a catch motion by a leading lawyer and protectionist to force a division of the free trade camp on the question to abolish the duties on butter, cheese and bacon, which the present government was about to do. The mover, however, utterly failed in the effort.

WILLIAM PORTLAND.

Mr. A. Allen—The leader of the opposition in 1886 stood before the farmers of The Murrumbidgee, and lifting his hand to heaven, said: "God forbid that the dark day should ever come which would blight this happy land of ours—when you farmers would be caught by such a contemptible idea as that of protective duties upon the very necessities of life of the poor of this country." I believe the honorable gentleman spoke with sincerity of conviction when he begged the 950,000 consumers of this country never to be led away by the proposal to tax the necessities of life. The honorable gentleman hoped that he would never live to see the day when such an iniquity would be perpetrated. Yet to-day we find him backing up the honorable member for Wentworth.

Mr. Dibbs—I am going to vote against him! Mr. A. Allen—I am glad to hear the honorable member say so. Honorable gentlemen opposite to us with not being thorough free traders. They say "Why don't you go the whole hog?" If we cannot be out and out free traders, it is utterly impossible for honorable gentlemen opposite to be out and out protectionists. I believe the time will come when free trade—the freedom of commerce—will be the law of this land and the delight of every man in the community, for

The time must yet appear when the night with the right and the truth shall be, And come what may to stand in the way, That day these men shall see.

The honorable gentleman to wit us with not being thorough free traders. Will they give us a system of protection that will protect the toiler, that will protect the consumer, and that will protect the masses? I will be a protectionist if they will do that. But I will never be a protectionist to line the pockets of the monopolists. I will never be a protectionist—I will change my moral character if I do—of the stamp of these honorable gentlemen on my right; because the protection they are advocating is not protection in the interests of humanity—it is protection in the interests of the one class—the class that can make wealth out of the blood and sweat of those who have to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow. When I cease to be a man, and above all, when I cease to believe in the mighty and unalterable decrees of God, and when I cease to have sympathy with those who have to toil for existence—then, and then only, will I join the ranks of the protectionists, become a monopolist, and go straight for a duty on the loaf on the poor man's table. If this resolution were proposed in downright earnest, and the mover were sincere in the interests of the people, and if it included sugar duties and other duties, as a firm believer in the one tax principle enunciated by Henry George, I should be in favor of abolishing those duties. The honorable member for Newcastle, Mr. A. Brown, read us to-night an extract from an article in the Nineteenth Century by Matthew Arnold. I believe there are many boys in our public schools who could easily run a hoop round that article. I would ask the honorable gentleman if he has read any of the writings of that great apostle of truth, that great apostle of the working man, that great liberator of the day, that man who believes in the true principles of free trade—Henry George? Has the honorable gentleman ever read his "Social Problems," his "Free Trade and Protection," his "Progress and Poverty"? If he had I feel sure he would never have wasted the time of the house by reading an article from the Nineteenth Century, written for a purpose, and for the paltry pittance the man got for writing it. Matthew Arnold, indeed, as an advocate under these circumstances, to be an authority for what is being done in America! What about the anti-poverty association in America, and the mighty mass of people being led on, I believe, to a moral victory such as the world has never seen, headed by that servant and disciple of truth, Henry George, who speaks as one having authority, and not as the Scribes and Pharisees of the "nineteenth century." The men who follow Henry George have their ax to the root of the tree, and monopoly must fall before them. This tottering, wretched, unprincipled, infernal notion of protecting the few at the expense of the many, will die with the poor unfortunate millions who have attached themselves to the rotten banner which for so many years has failed to fly to the breeze of liberty, and which has been opposed by every enlightened man of the day, headed by William Ewart Gladstone, and the noble patriot and most brilliant speaker in the English house of commons, that simple-hearted true disciple of manhood, the glorious, and immortal John Bright.

INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION.

The Causes and the Remedy—A Highly Protected Manufacturer Exposes the Robbing Tariff System.

Below are given some portions of a most interesting and instructive address delivered by A. B. Farquhar of the York, Pa., agricultural works, before the Glen Rock democratic society on May 17. The full text has been issued in pamphlet form for distribution. Mr. Farquhar said:

I have been asked to address you this evening upon the subject of, "the causes that have influenced the present depressed industrial condition of the country." This is certainly a very momentous and serious question, involving the prosperity of our whole people. Having made political economy a study for many years past, and my business relations extending throughout the world, having given me unusual opportunities for proving the truth of my theories and observing business methods and conditions; and since I am able to trace the trouble backwards to its source and judge the effect of measures proposed for redress, I may with all modesty, claim some knowledge of the causes that bring about financial stress or business depression.

Now, I will unhesitatingly assert, and without the fear of successful contradiction, that our industrial depression is directly, and mainly attributable to the protective policy of the republican party; but I do not by any means hold that party entirely responsible, since the record of the democratic party for the past twenty-five years, at least up to the time of Grover Cleveland, was not very much better. Cleveland, like Jefferson, believed that government was in effect simply an assurance company, to guarantee our liberty and the protection of person and property, and that government has no more right under the power given it by the people, to say in what market we shall buy and sell our goods, than it has to tell us what profession or trade we may engage in.

THE MISSION OF THE LAW.

The mission of the law is to prevent injustice; it has no business to meddle with the industries of the people, or with their religion or charities. The happiest, most progressive and moral nations, are those where the law interferes least with private activity; where individuals are allowed the freest scope, where public opinion has the most influence, where the machinery of government is the simplest, taxation the lowest, and the responsibility of individuals the greatest. A government founded upon these eternal principles must be the most economical, least oppressive, least centralized and most just and permanent that could be conceived of. Every one would have the fullest individual freedom and would recognize that all his success depended upon himself; that the state was not responsible for his prosperity or adversity, but only for his safety. Under such a government there would be no abnormal displacement of capital; our workmen would not be starved to make our protected monopolists millionaires and the farms would not be drained to enrich our cities.

Laws have been made placing this collective force of the nation, founded by and ordained for the safety of the people, in the hands of those who use it for their own profit, and that of special classes who traffic in the property and rights of other citizens, plundering almost at will. Mankind is ever hoping to obtain something for nothing, and it is according to human nature to plunder as being easier than working.

PROTECTION VIOLATES NATURAL RIGHTS.

Protection is a tax levied upon the community for the benefit of a class, and it as much violates the law of property as slavery violates the law of person. It plunders the many to enrich the few, and under the false pretense of aiding labor.

Poor houses, asylums and jails need protection, but I claim that a manufactory—a cloth mill for instance—is not an industry when the people must be taxed sixty per cent in order to enable it to run. It more resembles the castle of one of the old robber barons.

The republican party pretends to adjust the balance of commerce by tariff restraints and and it has engaged to make business prosper. Look at the result. Our carrying trade has been driven from the seas with the loss of over \$100,000,000 annually to the industry of the country. It has undertaken to protect the iron and woolen trade by a tax upon the people of 30 per cent to 60 per cent but witness the hundreds of furnaces out of blast, and woolen mills idle, the operatives out of work and the employers claiming that where they run at all, they must work without profit, while the same industries are now prosperous in free trade England.

We find that protected industries consume wealth instead of producing it; since the object of a protective duty seems to divert the capital and labor of the people from the channels in which they would naturally and most profitably run, into others favored by law; in other words, from lucrative enterprises into those paying less profit. Protection must

therefore bring waste, and until waste makes wealth, protection will be an absurdity, and a device for forcing us to levy tribute upon each other. If the law brings a cent to John it must be taken from Peter, unless the law be magic—as the protectionist seems to think—and creates it out of nothing.

NATURAL BOUNTIES TURNED TO NATIONAL CALAMITIES.

In Lebanon county there is a great mountain of iron ore, said to be the finest in the world, easily mined, with plenty of good coal and lime stone near at hand. You have all heard of the Lebanon valley. It is remarkable for its fertility. Now, imagine the owner of the land going to Washington to see his member of congress and telling him of his ore mountain. The member congratulates him, but the gentleman says that although this ore is worth a great deal more than his land or indeed all the land in the county, he wants a tax put upon everyone using ore or iron from other parts of the world, for his benefit. We will assume the member indignantly declines to be a party to such an outrage upon the community, when our friend, well up in protection sophistry, reproaches him for not wishing to encourage American industry and benefit American labor. "Oh," replies the member, "why didn't you say so at first, of course we will tax the foreign ore and iron." And thus every farmer who uses a plow or horseshoe is taxed for the benefit of our friend in Lebanon county and the iron becomes an injury to the country instead of a benefit.

A gentleman from Philadelphia finds a nickel mine on his farm in Lancaster county, the only one, by the way, in the United States. He also goes to see his member of congress. A similar conversation ensues, followed by a heavy tax being levied upon all the nickel used in the country, except that obtained from his mine, and hence you have to pay more for your nickel plated table ware, harness, lamps, etc., etc. A large nickel plating industry was driven from the United States to Canada in consequence. Hundreds of workmen and millions of people suffering to benefit this one man, and all because a nickel mine had been discovered in our country!

THE CURSES OF COPPER AND TIN.

In like manner we had to pay five cents a pound more for copper on account of the discovery of the richest copper mines in the world, near Lake Superior. Instead of a blessing the new found treasure became a curse, and now parties wish congress to offer a prize to the discoverer of a tin mine, and we have reports in this week's papers of tin ore being found in the west. But I earnestly hope no such calamity will fall upon the country as the discovery of a tin mine. We will have to pay more for our tin roofs and tin ware, and cans for fruits; and we will find that our canning industry abroad will be destroyed in consequence. Even the tax we now pay upon tin, works very much against our canning trade. The English naturally prefer to buy their canned goods in their colonies where their tin is not taxed. You thus see how protection makes our national resources, national calamities and until waste is the source of wealth it will be the absurdest of fallacies.

We may well stop here to inquire how under such a system our workmen are protected. The United States is the only nation in the world. Spain alone excepted, which taxes raw material, thus closing the avenues of trade abroad, and injuring labor more than any other one cause. Indeed, if America had not such extraordinary advantages, had not been born with such a strong constitution that she has grown and prospered in spite of the baleful influence of protection, just as a strong child may grow up and apparently prosper for a time while defying all the laws of health—her day would have come before this; and we have signs of its coming now.

A CAUSE OF OUR PROSPERITY.

The principal cause of our prosperity has been the absolute free trade among our sovereign states, and until international free trade was established, just a hundred years ago, by our constitution, the country was in such wretched plight that many patriotic citizens felt that the revolutionary war was a mistake and that we would fall back under England's protection, the French representative writing his government that the United States was a collection of communities with adverse interests, and that he saw no hope of their becoming a permanent nation. Now, in this world we are dependent upon each other. The prosperity of our neighbors is almost as important to us as our own.

Our wonderful advancement, like that of England, commenced about forty years ago when Great Britain adopted free trade and opened her markets to our produce, resulting in the rapid development of the west and our great railroad system. Now, if the trade and prosperity of our country among the nations of the earth could be increased by protection, for the same reason the prosperity of anyone of our sovereign states would be increased by tariff laws against the products of other states, and if the interests of one of our states would be conserved by protection against the others, then all the states would be benefited by tariff laws against each other. Our factories are multiplying until there is no longer a market for their production in this country. We must go abroad and bid for trade against the world, but we find ourselves crippled on every

side. On the one hand we must pay more for our raw material than do our competitors, then, we find our merchant marine has been driven from the seas by protection, and we must employ foreign vessels to deliver our goods, for which we are taxed \$100,000,000 a year, and yet notwithstanding all of these drawbacks our export trade is increasing. American cotton goods, locomotives, agricultural implements and countless other manufactures are sold throughout the world, in spite of the efforts of the protectionists to cripple us. What a commentary upon the necessity of protection!

FORTY YEARS' HISTORY OF AMERICAN SHIPPING.

The founders of our government made free commerce and unrestricted trade a primary principle and policy of the nation, and if the destruction of our once magnificent merchant marine was the only sin that could be laid at the doors of protection, it would be enough to utterly condemn the system. Thirty years ago, before the commencement of the high protection era, about one-third of the world's tonnage, 5,500,000 tons, was carried under the American flag; England then carried a little more, about 5,800,000, and the rest of the world combined about the same amount that we did. We then carried three-fourths of our own commerce, besides doing more carrying business for other nations than we do altogether at present. Then, as now, our seamen received higher wages, but this was compensated for by their increased efficiency, and approved appliances for loading and unloading. Forty years ago our steam tonnage was also very nearly equal to that of Great Britain. Protectionists pretend that the confederate privateers drove our commerce from the seas, but it commenced to decline rapidly with the tariff of '61 before it was affected by the privateers, and even in '63, when they were the most abundant, we did forty per cent of our foreign commerce against less than ten per cent now. During this time, while our commerce has been decaying, that of England, Sweden and Norway has increased \$00 per cent; indeed, there has been a large increase throughout the world, except in the case of Italy, where protection has killed it as it has here.

MILLIONS A YEAR SPENT ON FOREIGN VESSELS.

In 1881 seventy-two million bushels of wheat were exported from the single port of New York to Europe, not one bushel in an American vessel. During the years from 1850 to 1860 we expended on an average \$50,000,000 annually in building and repairing vessels for foreign commerce; now less than half that sum, although our trade requirements should have doubled it. Besides this we pay over \$100,000,000 a year to foreign vessels for carrying our trade. The building of ships and carrying our goods is as much a productive industry as raising wheat and making plows or locomotives, and you will see that \$150,000,000 is lost here to our workmen by the stupidity of our protective system. This amounts to more than the total capital invested in all the blast furnaces of the United States as estimated by the last census; and even all this loss is less than the damage to our trade for lack of means to promptly reach our customers. I am filling orders now for Buenos Ayres to be shipped via England, 3,000 miles out of the way, because we have no steamers running to South America while they have a daily line. The South American trade naturally belongs to us, and if we received their raw material free of duty, as do all other nations, in order to encourage their home manufacture, we could get it, and a hundred thousand of our idle workmen would find profitable employment.

We might have had the principal copper trade of the world, now, had it not been for the duty imposed upon Chilean copper, to make the Lake Superior mining monopolists millionaires. Chili sends twenty million dollars worth of copper a year in British ships in exchange for British goods. This copper is manufactured in England by British workmen and sold throughout the world. A radical reform of our whole tariff system and policy is essential to the restoration of our ships, and the extension of our markets abroad; but we can not hold this market without controlling the ships, and we cannot control the ships while we restrict by law the producers in this country from freely exchanging the products of their labor for the products of the labor of other countries.

WE MAY YET BECOME THE FIRST MARITIME NATION OF THE WORLD.

All trade is barter; product exchanged for product. In order to sell, we must buy; in order to buy, we must sell. He who won't buy cannot sell; he who won't sell cannot buy and just in proportion as this buying and selling or exchange of products is restricted, our home industry and carrying trade will be diminished. Protectionists try to avoid this argument as it exposes the absurdity of attempting to revive our merchant marine by subsidies.

It is popular with protectionists to ridicule our commerce as of not much account anyhow. One of these philosophers in a speech some time ago said, "What does our export trade amount to after all; we only send abroad one-tenth of our agricultural products." But if he had added that this tenth amounted in the previous year to over \$600,000,000 and that we had paid over \$30,000,000 to England for carrying it, his argument in favor of building up our commerce with two

or three million dollars of subsidies would have fallen to the ground. Neither did he point out the fact that the market abroad for this one-tenth of our agricultural products fixed the price at home to the farmer for all the rest. If we had been obliged to carry it over on hand here the price would have fallen not 10 but 25 to 30 per cent.

Now, I have devoted so much attention to the decay of our mercantile marine, first: because I believe it is one of the principal causes of our business depression, and, secondly: because it is a subject that my foreign trade has made me familiar with, and because I believe that with a thorough reform in the tariff, with a view to an ultimate free trade policy, such as prevails in England, that we would become the most permanently prosperous, as well as the first maritime nation of the world.

TARIFF NOTES.

If manufacturers wish to break down the protective system, they have only to make the working people feel that it is not for their benefit.—[New York Tribune.]

There seems to be something queer about this protection to infant industries, for the older the industry the more protection it wants. Just like a sucking calf. The older it gets the more it sucks, and the more it sucks the more it bunts for more milk. It's good for the calf but it's death to the cow. See!—[Dubuque, Iowa, Industrial Week.]

Parsec Moore advises the protection doocracy to join the republican camp and not "buy stolen goods or stolen principles when they can get the genuine article honestly at another shop."—[New York Press.]

The governor of Illinois has ordered a regiment of state troops to support the sheriff of Will county in the miners' trouble at Braidwood. The strikers will of course be compelled to abandon their fight for better wages but the soldiers cannot drive from their minds the thought that the tariff is a protector that does not protect.—[Mauch Chunk Democrat.]

We advocate the single tax because it affords the only solution of the industrial problem consonant with personal freedom.—[Deer Park, N. Y., Citizen.]

Let the heads of laboring men be ever so thick, their own bitter experience will convince them in the course of time—as the experience of the world has convinced all honest thinking men—that protection is not for the purpose of raising wages.—[Alpena, Mich., Labor Journal.]

Workmen employed in the iron industries in the neighborhood of Chicago have a great deal of idle time on their hands just now. They can do no better than to study some of the old speeches of the high tax orators, delivered during the last campaign, and learn how the tariff is arranged for the benefit of the laboringmen.—[Chicago Leader]

A Change in the Democratic Committee.

There is a significance which cannot be overlooked in the selection of ex-congressman Carlos French to succeed the late William H. Barnum on the national democratic committee as the representative of Connecticut. Mr. French is a leading manufacturer, and has always been an advocate of a low tariff. In the last congress he stoutly supported the tariff reform movement and the Mills bill, and was in full accord with the president and the chairman of the ways and means committee. That a man with such principles and such a record should be selected to take the place of a high protectionist in the party council indicates a healthy growth of sound sentiment. The change is emphasized by the fact that Mr. French's competitor for the honor before the state central committee was Mr. Henry A. Bishop, known as a moderate protectionist, or at least as one who is not in favor of the reform of the tariff on the lines laid down by Mr. Cleveland.

American Citizens Working for Seventy-five Cents a Day.

In some of the ore mines in East Texas, Lehigh county, the wages of the employes have been reduced from eighty to seventy-five cents per day. Another slice of protection.—[Catasauqua Valley Record.]

And what is this we hear? Full-fledged American citizens working for seventy-five cents per day! Impossible! There must be something wrong! Why don't they apply at the headquarters of their dear old friend, the tariff, and ask why should such things be? Protection was victorious in the last election, G. O. P. rule is good for four years more and now comes the order: work for seventy-five cents a day or do the other thing—starve.

More Protection to Coal Miners—A Protection Paper's Advice.

The striking miners in the Braidwood, Ill., coal mines take a common-sense view of their case. They say they might as well starve lying idle as working for not enough to live on. Fifteen dollars a month is certainly too little to keep a family on in this country, and if it is necessary for the coal operators of Illinois to grind their men down to such wages in order that they may be able to compete in the markets with Pittsburg coal, they had better shut up shop and go out of the business.

A National Blessing.

The fact is that sporadic cases of wage reduction cannot be referred to the tariff.—[Springfield Union.]

Oh, of course not! Nothing can be referred to the tariff except what makes it appear that it is a national blessing to keep wealth out of the country.

PROTECTION TO LABOR A LIE.

Countless Thousands of American Workingmen Idle and Starving—Wages Universally Reduced—Three Months of Industrial Paralysis Among the Followers of Every Trade Present an Unassailable Indictment Against the Political Party Who Promised Uniform and Unprecedented Prosperity as the Sure Result of the Election of President Harrison.

New York Herald, June 1.

"Protection for American industry."

"American wages for American workmen."

"Our toilers shall not be reduced to the level of the pauper labor of Europe."

These were some of the warwhoops of the republican party during the last campaign, and they were worked for all they were worth. Workingmen were told that the election of Grover Cleveland meant the triumph of "free trade," meant that wages would be reduced, that factories and workshops would close, that the American toiler would have to starve and that England would laugh at having crushed out American industries.

On the other hand the success of Harrison meant "higher wages," "renewed prosperity" and the confidence of manufacturers in the old and new enterprises. Harrison's election would cause the land to flow with milk and honey, the "busy hum of industry would be heard in the land," strikes, lockouts, reductions of wages would be things of the past, and the country would be flushed with prosperity from one end to the other, while England would gnash her teeth in rage.

It was "Protection! Protection! Protection!" morning, noon and night. The hearts of the great protected monopolists just bubbled over with kindness for the American workingman, and eloquent speeches were made about his "horny hand," "superior intellect" and his "elevated condition." This was before election.

Well, protection won. Mr. Harrison was elected president. He has been in office now three months, and according to all promises the American workingman should go home every Saturday night with increased wages in his pocket, put on his spiked-tail coat, and eat roast chicken with his happy family.

Three months of a protective administration and what does the worker see? Prosperity? Not much. He finds that wages are reduced right and left. Mills are shut down. Lockouts, strikes, starvation and despair are too common for special publicity. The very things which he was informed could never take place if "protection" won are the very things which have taken place, and well he knows it. Facts speak for themselves, and here are some facts.

The Herald for the months of March, April and May, 1889, gave a list of twenty-eight strikes. Of course the list was not complete. The beauties of "protection," however, are shown in the following list of labor troubles for the first three months of Mr. Harrison's administration, and this list is far from being complete. It will be noticed that the highly protected industries figure most in cutting down wages:

MARCH.

4—Furnace employes in Mahoning and Shesango valley accept a reduction of ten per cent.

One thousand puddlers, Brooks iron company, Pennsylvania, accept a reduction of seven to twelve per cent.

Five thousand miners out of work by closing of the nine colliers of the Lehigh coal company.

Notice given at twenty-one collieries of the Reading company that miners must work three-quarter time four days a week.

5—Failure Reading iron works. Twenty-five hundred men out of work.

6—All steamboat travel suspended on Puget sound and Columbia river through the action of the Oregon railway and navigation company reducing pay of all employes whose wages were \$60 or upward ten per cent. Men are all out.

7—Bakers' union, of Chicago, claims that bosses are breaking their contract, and men are returning to long hours and small pay.

8—Striking employes of the Ames shovel works at North Eastern, Mass., have been notified to vacate the corporation tenements.

The Findlay (Ohio) iron works have assigned. Alden Sampson & Co., oilcloth manufacturers, Maspeth, L. I., have discharged 120 hands. In last campaign the men had to work for Harrison.

Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railroad company reduce wages of large number of employes 33 1/2 per cent.

Wheeling (W. Va.) steel plant proprietors refuse to treat with Amalgamated association of steel workers.

9—One hundred girls employed at Eagle cotton mills, Madison, Ind., strike for a reduction of working hours to ten a day.

11—Fall River weavers strike for an in-

crease of wages. Ten thousand out of work.

Employes of Brooklyn rubber company strike against a reduction of ten per cent in wages.

12—Silk ribbon weavers at Hellmans & Sons' factory, College Point, L. I., strike for increase of wages.

Notice given that Chicago, St. Paul and Kansas City railroad company will cut number of employes down to half at West St. Paul yards.

13—The last of the pipe mills of the Reading Iron company closed. Two thousand men idle.

Puddlers and helpers in the rolling mill of the Center Furnace company at Bellefonte, Pa., strike against a reduction of ten per cent in wages.

14—Painters and helpers in Erie railroad shops at Jersey City cut from fourteen to twelve cents an hour.

15—One hundred and fifty cigar makers of Hahn & Brusel's factory, New York, strike against thirty per cent reduction in wages.

Salt lifters at Leroy, N. Y., strike against a reduction of wages.

20—Failure of feather workers' strike, New York, for a fair scale of prices. Girls forced to leave their union.

22—Pennsylvania, Coal company notified miners at Scranton that fifteen collieries would be shut down. The miners have been earning from \$6 to \$15 a month.

27—Failure of weavers' strike at Fall River for increase of wages.

Notices issued at Clark Thread Works, Newark, N. J., of reduction of wages of spinners fifteen per cent.

30—Two hundred weavers of the Berkeley Mills strike on account of a cut in wages, Providence, R. I.

The broad loom weavers in the Cutter silk mill at Bethlehem, Pa., notified of a reduction of wages from twenty-five to thirty cents a yard, an equivalent to thirty cents per day.

Three striking molders at the Enterprise Manufacturing company's works in Philadelphia, who were charged "with combining together to intimidate," held to answer by the courts.

APRIL.

1—Telegram from Galesburg, Ill., announces that the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy railroad company has reduced the hours of labor of the shop men, bridge men and carpenters from ten to eight hours, with a proportionate cut in wages. Men receiving \$1.15 a day cut to ninety-two cents.

Strike of framers, painters and granite cutters, New York, for union scale.

One thousand five hundred carpenters and painters strike at Buffalo, N. Y., to enforce nine-hour work day.

Seventeen hundred carpenters strike at St. Louis, Mo., for forty cents an hour.

Pennsylvania Steel works, Harrisburg, Pa., reduced labor five per cent and unskilled labor ten per cent. Twenty-five hundred men affected.

A. Pardee & Co., coal operators, Wilkes-barre, Pa., notify employes of a reduction of two per cent in wages. Fifteen hundred men and boys affected.

2—One thousand employes deprived of work by the shut down of Downes & Fox's shirt factories at Jamestown and Borden-town, N. J.

Dispatch from Pittsburg, Pa., says that Pennsylvania Railroad company is reducing its force all along the line.

3—Street car employes at Rochester, N. Y., strike to uphold their union.

Strike of coopers at Standard oil works Constable Hook, against a reduction of wages.

Strike of car drivers, Rochester, N. Y., against a reduction of wages.

Forty switchmen at Erie railroad yard, Buffalo, N. Y., strike against the refusal of company to reinstate three of their number.

4—Night messenger boys of Western union telegraph company at Chicago strike for \$3.50 a week.

8—General strike of carpenters at Salem, Mass., for reduction of hours of labor.

10—Strike of spinners at Clark's O. N. T. thread mills, Kearny, N. J., against a reduction of 17 1/2 per cent in wages.

Strike of sawmakers at Middletown, N. Y., against a reduction in wages.

11—General strike of surface road employes (horse and cable) at St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn., against a reduction in wages.

13—Wages of employes of Crane iron company, at Catsauqua, Pa., reduced ten per cent.

Reduction of ten per cent in wages of employes of Allentown (Pa.) rolling mills.

Employes of Rathbone, Sard & Co.'s stove foundry, Albany, N. Y., notified of a reduction of ten per cent in wages.

Cigarmakers in New York city protest against a large reduction in wages.

16—Strike of freight brakemen on the one hundred and thirty mile division of the Atlantic and Pacific railroad between Winslow and Mojave, Col., on account of refusal of company to allow three men to each train.

18—Fifty bricklayers employed by Bentley & Stroehsta, Chicago, Ill., strike against the ten hour system.

One hundred and twenty-five employes at Omaha (Neb.) water works strike for an advance of wages from \$1.50 to \$1.75 per day.

Spring bed and mattress makers employed by B. Fitch & Co., New York city, strike against a reduction of wages.

19—The coal trimmers of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western coal docks at Jersey City, N. J., strike to secure more work. Men claim that the company is holding back the product of the mines, and that they cannot average over \$6.50 per week.

23—General strike of tinners at Plainfield, N. J., for the nine hour work day.

24—Strike of workmen at tube works, Syracuse, N. Y., against a reduction of ten per cent in wages.

One hundred and twenty tailors employed by J. W. Parker & Co., Boston, Mass., strike for an increase of wages. The strikers assert that wages have been cut three times within the last eighteen months. The last cut was about twenty per cent.

Failure of the Minneapolis (Minn.) surface road strike. Men forced to leave their organization.

26—The two mills of the White manufacturing company at Rockville, Conn., close down on account of a strike of weavers for an advance of wages.

Seventy finishers in S. Berg & Co.'s hat factory, Orange Valley, N. J., strike for an increase of wages.

MAY.

1—Carpenters, joiners, stone masons and hod carriers to the number of 5,000 strike at Pittsburg, Pa., for an increase of pay and against non-union labor.

Eight hundred railroad miners in the Pittsburg (Pa.) district strike against a new scale of wages.

Four hundred workmen employed by the White manufacturing company of Rockville, Conn., are locked out because they assisted 150 weavers who went on strike.

2—One hundred and twenty-five molders at Perry's stove works at Albany, N. Y., laid off indefinitely.

Two thousand block coal miners at Brazil, Ind., strike against an extraordinary reduction of from ninety to seventy cents for mining.

The strike of the street car men at St. Paul, Minn., declared off and the men return to work at reduced wages.

Seven hundred quarrymen strike at Joliet, Ill., for an advance of twenty-five cents per day.

4—Shut down of mining operations at Evansville, Ind., on account of men refusing to accept a reduction of wages to sixty-five cents a ton for mining. Three hundred miners out.

Miners at Scranton, Pa., reduced to verge of starvation. Men with families do not average \$10 a month.

9—Sixty men employed on the water works at Marblehead, Mass., strike for an advance of wages from \$1.35 to \$1.50 a day.

10—Strike of men at Allegheny Bessemer works, Duquesne, Pa., ends in a failure.

13—Lockout of silk ribbon weavers in several New York shops for demanding an advance in wages.

16—Six thousand men employed by National tube works company at McKeesport, Pa., strike for a ten per cent advance in wages.

17—Three hundred longshoremen employed in Brooklyn, N. Y., warehouses strike for an advance in wages from twenty cents to twenty-five cents an hour.

20—Freight handlers of Boston and Albany railroad, at East Boston, Mass., strike against a reduction in wages.

21—A dispatch from Brazil, Ind., states that the miners who struck against a twenty per cent reduction are on the verge of starvation.

23—Fifty employes of the Lochiel rolling mills at Harrisburg, Pa., who went on strike against a reduction in wages were paid off and discharged.

It is reported from Sharon, Pa., that a general reduction of ten per cent in wages of furnace employes has been made throughout the Shenango valley.

27—Strike of all the ore handlers at Marquette, Mich., for an increase of wages. About three hundred men out.

A company of militia ordered from Joliet to Broadwood, Ill., to put down striking miners.

29—Strike of puddlers' helpers of Pottstown, Pa., iron company against Hungarian labor.

RECAPITULATION.

On March 4, the very day of President Harrison's inauguration, five thousand Lehigh coal miners were thrown out of employment, one thousand puddlers for the Brooks iron company had to accept reduced wages, and the Reading Coal company forced its miners to earn less money by working fewer hours.

This schedule of destitution, extortion, compulsory idleness, financial desperation, public disaster and domestic wretchedness does not omit a single day without its record of industrial distress, for although a few dates are apparently innocent of news, others have more than their share of sorrow.

It might be pleaded that there is no necessary relation between the troubles of the wage earners and political principles, if it were not plain that the employers, who were most enthusiastic for Mr. Harrison's election, have been since that event the most active in reducing the wages of the defenseless voters. Their activity in this direction began after election day, and will not be interrupted until another political necessity arises.

A Center Shot.

Syracuse Standard.

The New York Sun's withering praise is as deadly as its censure.

LAND HOLDING IN THE BIBLE.

I can not resist the impulse to send you the following sketch found in the Sermon bible, and taken from T. T. Munger's "The Freedom of Faith." Is it not strange that so much of value in our homiletic literature relating to the land question is ignored by the ministry?

C. M. MORSE.

"And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof; it shall be a jubilee unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his own possession, and ye shall return every man unto his own family."—Leviticus xxv, vers. 10-13.

All men ultimately get their living out of the soil. There is a recognition of this in the first chapters of Genesis. Man is placed in the garden to till it, and to eat its fruits. He has no other way of living, and never will have any other. Every human being must have some real relation, direct or indirect, to a certain extent of soil. To get man rightly related to the soil, in such a way that he shall most easily get his food from it, this is the underlying question of all history, its keynote and largest achievement.

I. There are two forces which draw men to the soil: (1) a natural, almost instinctive, sense of keeping close to the source of life, as a wise general does not allow himself to be separated from his supplies; (2) the pride, and greed, and love of power of the strong. In all ages the relation of man to the soil has been characterized by deep and cruel injustice. The main oppression in the world has been a denial of man's natural rights to the soil.

II. The remarkable feature of the Jewish commonwealth is its anticipatory legislation against probable and otherwise certain abuses. The struggle of other nations and the skill of statesmanship have been to correct abuses: in the Jewish commonwealth they were foreseen and provided against. The Jewish theocracy had for one of its main features a system of Sabbaths curiously and profoundly arranged for the interpenetration of divine and political principles. Every half century formed a grand Sabbatical circle. The fiftieth year, or year of jubilee, settled at the outset the problem that no other people ever solved except through ages of struggle and revolution.

III. Its design and effect are evident. (1) It was a bar to the monopoly of the land. (2) It was a perpetual lesson in hope and encouragement. It was a constant assertion of equality. (3) It fostered patriotism, a virtue that thrives but on the soil. It kept alive in every man a sense of ownership in his country. (4) It was an unwrought education of the family, fostering a sense of its dignity, and guarding the sanctity of marriage and the legitimacy of birth.

IV. Though a political measure it is informed with spiritual significance. It shadows forth the recovery from evil, the undoing of all burdens that weigh down humanity, the eternal inheritance awaiting God's children when His cycle is complete.

Cruel, but True.

New York Herald.

That was a keen shot of Senator Voorhees. He sent twenty dollars to relieve distress among the miners in Clay county, Ind., who are resisting an unjust reduction of their wages, and observed: "This condition of things, occurring under the highest protective tariff ever known in American history, and repeated more than a hundred times over in every state in the Union, makes its own conclusive argument to every intelligent workingman and working woman in the United States."

There's Method in This Lunacy.

Hamilton, Ont., Times.

The Spectator gravely assures us that nobody but a lunatic would support the Henry George theory of taxation. It is not much of an argument to call a man a lunatic, but if the spectator is right there are some hundreds of thousands of unconfined lunatics in Great Britain, the United States and Canada, besides quite a large number on the continent of Europe.

Do Justice and One Great Cause of Suicide Would be Removed.

Syracuse Herald.

The Boston Globe thinks that there is an opening in this country for a society for the prevention of suicide.

The Veto of the Saxton Electoral Reform Bill.

Governor Hill, of New York, has once more put his veto on the Australian ballot bill. It looks as though Governor Hill was determined to break his political neck in order to get himself out of Cleveland's way in 1892. —[Punxsutawney, Pa., Spirit.

Governor Hill has again placed himself in the way of electoral reform by vetoing the Saxton bill. The governor appears to be rapidly making himself an impossibility as the presidential candidate of a great reform party. —[St. Louis Post-Dispatch (dem.).

The reasons which Governor Hill gives for his action are beneath notice, because they are a sham. The real and only reason was that Tammany hall demanded it, and he would obey Tammany hall though the united democracy of the rest of the country should raise its voice in protest. —[St. Louis Republic (dem.).

Governor Hill is true to his instincts [in vetoing the Saxton bill]. He is essentially a bad man, kneeling to the vilest elements in the commonwealth. —[Milwaukee Wisconsin (rep.).

To Governor David B. Hill of New York: No man who tries to throw the chariot of ballot reform off the track need apply for the nomination for president in 1892. —[Milwaukee Daily Journal, May 13, (dem.).

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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The discontinuance of the ticker service is intended by the stock exchange authorities as a blow, not only at the numerous bucket shops where gambling pure and simple is carried on with stock quotations as a basis, but also as a formidable rival exchange where legitimate business is conducted. It is assumed that if the bucket shops can no longer secure prompt and reliable quotations they will be compelled, of necessity, to discontinue business. And it is equally taken for granted that the buying and selling of stocks on the floor of the Consolidated exchange will come to an end if the Consolidated members are no longer able to follow the fluctuations of prices at the older establishment. It is doubtful if either of these results will be achieved.

If the real strength of the bucket shops—the real moving cause of their existence—lay in their ability to secure prompt reports of transactions on the floor of the exchange, then evidently the removal of the ticker service would be a death blow to them. But it doesn't. It lies in the prevalence of the gambling spirit—in the eagerness of men to acquire wealth without the labor of producing it—in the feeling which our social system has engrafted on men's minds that success in life is to be achieved by cunning appropriation, rather than by honest production. So long as the bucket shops have that feeling and that spirit to appeal to, so long they will continue to survive and flourish, in some shape or other, whether deprived of the ticker service or not. What their customers really want is not reliable stock exchange quotations, but the opportunity to gamble. And they can furnish them that just as well without the ticker service as with it.

And as concerns the Consolidated exchange, the stock exchange is really acting after the manner of the man who cut off his nose to spite his face. It is deliberately flinging away a most useful and efficient tool of production, with the certainty that its rival will pick it up and use it. The stock exchange ticker is something more than a mere implement of gambling. It has its place in the great tool-chest of civilized co-operative industry. It shortens the road from the Dakota wheat field to the English baker's shop. It helps to make the waste places bloom by increasing the efficiency of labor. To throw it aside is simply to impede production. And when an institution like the stock exchange, whose only function is to facilitate production, tries to vent its petulance by destroying the tools of industry, or childishly refusing to use them, it is pretty sure to suffer for it. Sins against civilization have a habit of working their own punishment.

Americans who go to Europe for the summer must have money to spend there. Natural monopolies being even more closely monopolized in Europe than they are here, our tourists are unable to produce wealth as they happen to need it, and so are forced to carry a supply of money with them. Necessarily this takes money out of the country. Last week it compelled the shipment of over \$3,000,000

—gold, of course. On well known protectionist principles this is an altogether different thing from taking \$3,000,000 worth of wheat, or corn, or hog meat to Europe, and spending that. The latter would be a genuine evidence of prosperity—an excess of exports over imports. The former is a symptom of that most fatal of all economic diseases—the drain of gold.

Why wouldn't it be a good idea to levy an export duty on tourists? Of course it couldn't be levied as an export duty. But that needn't be a hindrance. Nothing could be easier than to enact that every departing tourist should be compelled to be vaccinated under official supervision, to take out a passport, to undergo purification in a Turkish bath, to make his will in presence of a custom house officer, to do a dozen other things of that sort, all with appropriate and sufficient fees. We impose taxes on things brought into the country, on the ground that money has to go out to pay for them. Why shouldn't we impose taxes on our outgoing tourists, for the same sufficient economic reason?

Praise from Sir Hubert is Praise Indeed.
New York Saturday Globe (a weekly democratic review).

Henry George has been making a tour of some months in England, Scotland and Wales, and the popular interest excited by his presentation of the single tax theory is one of the political phenomena of the day, which philosophical minds cannot afford to pass by. It indicates the rise of a new and earnest force in the politics of the world, or, to speak otherwise, in society at large, which has got to be reckoned with in all civilized countries.

The time for sneering at Mr. George as an impractical socialist dreamer has long since passed away forever. His magnificent courage and splendid eloquence in our own conflict for industrial freedom last year have secured him a hearing for his more peculiar doctrines in this country, vastly wider and more respectful than he had ever enjoyed before, while in Great Britain, wherever he has appeared, the scientific and the learned have heard him with studious attention, and the multitude, groping for the means whereby to liberate its hands from the artificial restraints imposed by prescriptive abuse, has hung upon his words as upon those of a recognized liberator.

We say nothing here as to Mr. George's single tax doctrine. It is enough to arrest our attention that he has offered it as a complete measure of relief, and that from the college professor to the laborer in the shop or field; from Count Tolstoi to the humblest workman, seeking merely bread and life, hosts of men in all parts of the civilized world accept it at Mr. George's own valuation.

Whatever the conclusions we may individually draw from our several examinations of that extraordinary book, "Progress and Poverty"—that is to say, whether we accept the scientific and political conclusions or reject them—it is very certain that no intelligent reader can resist the fascinations of the great mind which conceived it—and the surpassing genius, the catholic spirit, the brave self-devotion of the man, are so extremely captivating that those who either read or hear him are in danger of being carried away in despite of themselves. This is the verdict of the entire English and Scotch papers. He is confessedly the most powerful and popular speaker who has appeared on the English platform for a generation.

This statement, extorted from a newspaper press which, upon Mr. George's previous visit to Europe, deemed it scarcely worth while to record his movements at all, is certainly very significant, but the light in which he is seen, and the spirit in which he is hailed by the more intelligent workmen of Great Britain, are more significant still. No more admirable address was ever penned than that in which the trades council of Dundee welcomed this distinguished teacher to his self-imposed task among them. Thanking him for "the distinguished devotion" with which he had pleaded "the cause of the disinherited of the world," they recount the progress of his cause, which they regard as that of humanity, in all parts of the globe, and hail him as the deliverer who alone has solved the most difficult of all social and political problems, by "a system which is radiant with hope for the masses and impossible to call unjust to the classes." In their estimation he has restored the disinherited to their own, and insured forever to labor the produce of its own exertions.

It is needless to say that a plan of civil government which would accomplish what the workmen of Dundee think Mr. George's plan accomplishes, would prove the material redemption of the earth. At all events, Mr. George is rapidly becoming one of the most interesting, and, perhaps, one of the most potential figures in the conflicts of our time.

SOCIETY NOTES.

Joseph Helbing committed suicide at No. 1096 Genesee street, Cleveland, by hanging himself with a rope, about noon a few days ago. He was found by his thirteen-year-old son, who had missed him, and on searching the house discovered his body at 2.30 p. m. suspended from a rafter in the attic. Helbing was a stone-cutter by trade, and for a long time had been out of work and very despondent. He was thirty-six years old, and left a widow and six small children.

Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt will sail from Liverpool for home on the 22d inst. From the appearance of huge boxes at the porch of "The Breakers," his country seat at Newport, it is surmised that Mr. Vanderbilt has bought in Europe additional pictures, tapestries and furniture for his seaside mansion. This year his trip took in Constantinople, and the eastern fabrics are dazzling.

George H. Beard, a homeless man, who said he had tasted no food for two days, last evening threw a heavy stone through a window on the fifth avenue side of Delmonico's restaurant. The stone just missed the head of a gentleman sitting at one of the tables. Beard was arrested and locked up in the Nineteenth precinct station house. He said he became crazed at the sight of people dining in the restaurant, and did not know what he was doing. Captain Reilly fed the outcast at his own expense.—[N. Y. World, May 28.]

Last week's gaiety was of a mild description, and, aside from the opening of the spring season of racing at Jerome Park on Decoration day, and a few innocent festivities, there has been little to chronicle in a social way. Fashionable New Yorkers are hastening from town by boat and train, and in another fortnight the parts of the city where they live will be nearly a desert of tightly drawn blinds and barricaded front doors.—[New York Tribune.]

Frederick Zeimner, twenty-two years old, a German waiter, residing at 8 Stanton street, attempted suicide on May 20 by shooting himself in the right temple with his 38-calibre revolver. He has been only two years in this country, and is unmarried. He has been out of work for the last two months. When he came home to-day he was drunk. He was taken to the Gouverneur street hospital, where it is said that his wounds will prove fatal.

The China Decorator describes a set of bedroom furniture recently made as follows: "It consists of three pieces of a bedroom set—the bedstead, wardrobe and dressing table. It looks very much like porcelain painting and is said to imitate it. The wood is painted and baked, repainted and rebaked, and after numerous coats of varnish it has a wonderful glaze, comparable only to a fine bit of painted porcelain. The table top, wardrobe sides and foot and head board of the bed are exquisitely painted in dark, rich coloring (the wood is evidently mahogany) and the metal trimmings are of silver. Its magnificence is not easily described and should be seen. The price of the three pieces is \$7,500, an amount sufficient, one who was not interested in art would say, to buy a house and lot."

William G. Smith of Hoboken, fifty years of age, a produce dealer in the new Washington market, committed suicide last Wednesday night by taking cyanide of potassium. Mr. Smith was well known dealer in the old market, and a year ago was estimated to be worth from \$50,000 to \$75,000. Trade fell off when he moved into the new market, and he became despondent.

A Party Organized in Dakota.

A new party has been formed in South Dakota known as the single tax party. It was organized at Huron Saturday. Judge Levie McGee, of Redfield, was elected president, and W. E. Brokaw, of Bristol, secretary, and an effective committee appointed.

It is the purpose of this party to open the campaign in the new state of South Dakota with the ultimate view of incorporating the single tax principles into the state constitution.

Henry George in Birmingham.

Birmingham Gazette.

Mr. Henry George must have been thoroughly satisfied with his reception in Birmingham on Saturday evening. The town hall was crowded with a most enthusiastic audience, and every sentiment in his lecture was cheered to the very echo. There was not a dissenting voice, if we except one unruly individual in the gallery who, though apparently having no distinct ideas of what his own particular grievance was, would persist in noisy interruptions, until at length a peremptory hint from the chairman induced him to leave the hall. But perhaps, after all, Mr. George would have preferred a little opposition; as it was, it appeared as though his hearers had already adopted his doctrines on land nationalization and there was no opportunity of making any fresh converts. The chairman for the occasion was the Rev. W. Tuckwell, and amongst those who sat around him were the Revs. Dr. Gardiner, E. F. M. MacCarthy, T. T. Sherlock, H. Rylett, J. D. Alford, N. M. Hennessy, Church, A. O'Neill, &c.; Councilors Davis, Granger, Bloor, C. Green, Messrs. J. A. Kenrick, J. Chapman, J. V. Stevens, T. C. Barnes, W. B. Smith, Byron Smith, D. Clark, T. F. Walker, G. Barratt, J. Wilson, and T. Hewins. The appearance of the chairman, the lecturer and their immediate supporters, was the signal for an outburst of cheering, which lasted for some moments.

At Heaven's Gate.

But it was the larks that charmed me most. They sang in the sun as though they knew I was a stranger, and were bent on doing their best to please me. First one, and then another, springing from the ground with a burst of melody pouring from their throats, they rose up, and up, and up, singing as they went, until they became the tiniest specks, and then were lost to sight. Their music growing fainter and fainter, but still continuing, they seemed the very embodiment and type of innocent and exuberant enjoyment. Then falling and singing, they came down like spent darts, and, so close to the ground that our eyes could not follow them, skimmed off to the nests where their mates were keeping house.—[Henry George's Letter in STANDARD of May 11.]

Yet the thought still mounts.—[Progress and Poverty.]

Up, up, in airy flight,

Thro' the blue ether did the song ascend,
Linking with heaven's height

The land that welcomed thee, our prophet friend.

Then lost when seemed the notes

In a far distance ear might never reach,
Back, back to earth it floats,

Still uttering to us its celestial speech.

So to our souls thou spake—

Would that we ever might ascend with thee—

Then back to earth didst take

Thy patient way, again our guide to be.

From the green earth it springs,

The heavenly strain that bids us hope anew;
But more than mortal things

Speak to our spirits in its music true.

Up, up, still mounts the thought,

Beyond the sky, beyond the starry sphere.
Strong and divine, it caught

The secret of immortal anthems clear.

On earth, Thy will, O God!

As it is done in heaven, be here fulfilled;

The path Thy chosen trod

Be ours to tread, with earnestness unchilled.

To fill with joy and peace,

The barren lives that mock Thy gracious care;

To bid oppression cease,

And all in Thy rich bounty own a share;

Oh, this were aim sublime,

Might give an angel joy its deed to share!
But not alone for time

Shall the rich fruitage of its harvest bear.

Oh, soul of heavenly strength!

Still call us, call us, laggards tho' we be;

So may we hear at length

The fullness of the message given to thee.

From the low earth it springs,

With promise, and with joy, with hope elate;

Then swift and strong it wings

Its flight, to pause, like lark, at heaven's gate.
FRANCES M. MILNE.

San Luis Obispo, Cal.

IN THIS LAND OF PLENTY.

I am now living in the landlord cursed town of Findlay, Ohio. Houses to rent and lots for sale can be seen on every street. Yet there is a family of six or seven just a short distance from where I stay (I cannot say I live) who are sleeping in a small canvas tent. Rent is so high and work so scarce that we have to live two or three families in one house—a small house at that.

One of my neighbors last year arranged to buy a lot and house on small and easy payments. He made one "easy payment" and then fell sick and was unable to meet next "easy payment" and lost the lot and \$250 besides. He now pays rent. He fell sick again and could not pay gas bill, so that the city turned off the supply. And now his wife supports the family and gathers fire wood besides. I see her gathering wood to-day. It is Sunday and the church bells are chiming, but the wood must be gathered. Gather them into the fold, say the bells. O, that they might say food, shelter, homes. Ah, bells don't talk, but their ringing sounds makes that load of wood a load of lead. Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. She does not drop the wood to make the sign of the cross. No, perhaps her arm crossing over the wood is sufficient.

Yes, this is a refined, high toned, booming town, with plenty of work and money. True there are men out of work, hunting vainly for work. And there are beggars. O yes, some begging for money, some begging for food, some begging for whisky. I begged for money last week that is I begged for work. I didn't like it.

I cannot write any more. I see two tramps coming this way, so I must close the window and keep still till they go by, for I can't give them anything to eat. I am hungry now myself. I will write more when there are no tramps around.

Findlay, Ohio,

S. F. FIELDING.

MEN AND THINGS.

Johnstown! The heart stands still as the name is uttered. A vision rises of a whirling, raging, seething, maddened flood of waters, sweeping down upon a city to engulf it. A vision of men and women for whom earth seems shaken from its foundations. A vision of panic terror, of sublime heroism in the face of certain death, of hopeless bravery and self devotion. How can we speak of it? How can we think of it? How can we hope ever to forget it? Since civilization was, no more awful calamity has befallen civilized man. Mothers mourning for their children, wives weeping for their husbands and their little ones, men standing stunned and tearless by the disfigured clay that once was instinct with a life for whose sake their own would have been held as naught. Happy they who perished with their loved ones. Death is at times most merciful when he seems cruel.

There are thoughts for which language has no words. There are emotions for which the swelling heart and starting tear are the only possible, though all inadequate expressions. Millions of hearts are swelling, millions of eyes are wet with tears, as the tale of Johnstown's tragedy unfolds. For men are brothers, after all. The great heart of humanity beats true. Christ struck no uncertain chord when he bade us love our neighbors as ourselves.

A friend writes me from Hartford, Conn:

Only to-day I heard a woman complaining because she and her husband could get no more Kansas farm loans that would pay over eight per cent, because of some new law in Kansas; said they had several that were paying twelve or thirteen per cent. There are over thirty offices in Hartford where these western farm mortgages can be bought—five years ago there were only four or five. It makes my blood boil to think of the poor cusses out west—and driven out there, too—paying, surely, twenty-five per cent in order that these hogs in Hartford, with no soul above banks, insurance, mortgages, may sit around and drink champagne. Remember, it is the holder that gets the twelve or thirteen per cent; the offices must make something, and something handsome, too, judging from the style in which those who run them live. The clerks are well paid, and work short hours, because the situations go by favor. The whole business is outrageous, and ministers of the gospel here seem to think it no sin to buy these mortgages.

My dear fellow, I am not astonished that your blood should boil. Your indignation is perfectly natural. Only, are you sure it is taking the right direction?

More than thirty offices in Hartford dealing in western farm mortgages, eh? A sad sign of the times, indeed. But suppose there weren't thirty of them—suppose twenty-nine of them should close up—suppose all of them should go out of business? Would that improve matters in any way? Truly, I cannot see that it would. The only effect would be that the unfortunate western farmer would have to pay a higher rate of interest on his mortgage. Because there would be less competition among capitalists for the privilege of lending to him, you know.

That woman who complained that she couldn't get more than eight per cent for her money—don't you suppose she would be rather glad than otherwise if nobody in Hartford but herself were able or willing to lend any money to the Kansas farmers? I think she would. She could probably get more than eight per cent then, couldn't she?

And you feel outraged because ministers of the gospel think it no sin to buy these mortgages. Well, it is no sin for them to buy them. They ought to buy them. Not merely because somebody else would buy them if they didn't, but because the farmers would be worse off if they didn't. There would be less competition for the privilege of loaning, and interest would rise.

I don't know whether you own a house and lot in Hartford or not. I sincerely hope you do. But if you haven't been lucky enough to get one yet, I am quite sure you would like to own one. And I am pretty sure, too, that if the value of the land your house stands on should advance two or three thousand fold, so that you could sell it for enough to enable you, and your children after you, to live in comfort without the necessity of work, you would take advantage of the situation without hesitation. Why shouldn't you? Leave self-interest out of the question, and look at the matter in a strictly ethical light, and consider whether you would be doing right or wrong.

Suppose you refused to sell your land?

That would be simply holding it out of use—diminishing the supply of land and forcing people to pay more for the privilege of using it. You know well enough that there would be no virtue in that sort of thing.

Suppose you gave the land to the people who wanted to use it. Would the community be any better off? Not a bit of it. You would make the men you gave the land to rich, and that would be all. You might as well have sold the land, and then given away the money you got for it.

Suppose you dedicated the land to public uses—made a park of it, or built a free school or hospital on it. Wouldn't the effect be to make Hartford a more desirable place to live in? And wouldn't rents go up in consequence?

There is only one thing more you could do. You might make your land a nuisance—put up a bone boiling establishment on it, or something of that kind, so that nobody could live with any comfort within a mile of it. That would send rents in that neighborhood down instead of up. But it would also make it harder for men to get a living. And don't you see that as rents went down there they would go up somewhere else? People would move away from your neighborhood and throng to other places. You might ruin Hartford, but you couldn't benefit its inhabitants.

Turn it all over in your mind, and I don't see how you can avoid the conclusion that the only right thing for you to do would be to take the wealth you hadn't earned, even while you know that every dollar of it was stained with the tears of suffering humanity. But in taking it you would be doing essentially the same thing that you count it a sin in ministers of the gospel that they should do.

A hard teaching, do you call this? A gospel of swill for hogs? It isn't anything of the sort. It is a lesson full of hope for humanity. It points the road to industrial emancipation. For it illustrates the truth that man's nature is to make the best of things. Men always do as nearly right as possible under the circumstances. When they don't do absolutely right, it is because circumstances are such that the thing that ought to be right has become wrong.

Your Kansas farmer wants to borrow money on the security of his land and improvements. Isn't he doing right under the circumstances? Isn't he *doing the best he can*? And isn't the best he can the right thing to do? Your thirty Hartford offices hunt round and advertise to find people to lend him the money. Isn't that the best thing they can do, under the circumstances, for the farmer and for themselves, too? Doesn't the farmer get his money more easily, and more cheaply, than if they didn't carry on their business? And the ministers of the gospel you write about so savagely—aren't they doing the best *they* can, under the circumstances, for the farmer, for the thirty Hartford offices, and for themselves? Isn't the net result of it all that the farmer gets the money he needs on the most reasonable terms possible *under the circumstances*? Can you think of any way to get the money to him more swiftly, and with less expense, under the circumstances? If you can, why, put it in practice just as quickly as you can, and earn your living by it. And do you know what will happen then? Just this, that unthinking people will turn round and call *you* a hog for doing what is absolutely the right thing for you to do under the circumstances. And the Kansas legislature will probably pass some sort of an idiotic law to prevent you doing the very thing that is helping the Kansas farmer to get what he wants.

Now, please don't misunderstand me, I am not saying that the whole situation is not infernal. I think it is infernal. What I am trying to make you understand is the marvellous co-operative power of humanity—the wonderful way in which millions of men, scattered over an immense extent of territory, without any preconcerted arrangement, simply by virtue of the instinct that compels every man to do the best he can for himself, actually do co-operate after such a fashion that every man Jack of them gets, as nearly as possible, the thing he wants, in the easiest way possible under the circumstances.

Observe how, if natural obstacles intervene, this unconscious involuntary co-op-

eration of humanity struggles to overcome them. Canals are dug, railroads stretch their arms abroad, river beds are deepened, mountains are tunneled, steam and electricity are put in harness, towns spring into being, cities are built, produce and stock exchanges are founded, grain elevators are erected, banks are established, pipe lines are laid, inventions are introduced to economize production, captains and lieutenants of industry spring to the front. Every man does the best he can for himself under the circumstances, and, doing that, is forced to study and promote the interests of his neighbors. Willy-nilly, every man must aid to pull the car of progress and of plenty. And see the marvellous result!

Observe, too, how if the obstacles are artificial ones, men still strive to overcome them, co-operating together in just the same involuntary but most efficient manner. Men dodge the laws that impede their co-operation, just as much as by the full exercise of their ingenuity they can contrive to. They strive to burrow under them, to find a way around them, to march over them, trampling them underfoot. They smuggle, they swear false custom house oaths, they bribe officials, they employ lawyers to show them how to violate the law while complying with its forms. They do the best they can under the circumstances, every one of them selfishly struggling for his own interest, but every one of them compelled, by a force he cannot resist, because it comes of God, to do *something* for his neighbor at the same time.

And please take notice that this co-operation is efficient only so far as it is free. Men need to be left alone—each man allowed to study his own interest, and do the thing that he thinks most advantageous for himself. If it isn't advantageous for himself, he'll mighty soon stop doing it, and try some other thing. If it is advantageous, it must be so for his neighbor as well as for himself. And why? *Because man wants, not the wealth that he himself produces, but the wealth his neighbor has produced.* There is reason in the old saw about the shoemaker's children. What the shoemaker wants is not shoes, but bread, and beef, and clothes, and house, and furniture, and books, and a thousand other things that other men are making. And the more and better shoes he can give his neighbors in exchange for these things, the more easily he can get them. He studies their interest in studying his own. He *co-operates* with them, just so far as society leaves him free to do so.

But the moment a man is compelled to do, not what he thinks most advantageous for himself, but what other people think will be most advantageous for *them*—that moment his power of efficient co-operation with his fellows is impaired. He will struggle to co-operate still, in spite of the restriction of his freedom. He will do the best he can under the circumstances. But he never can co-operate as fully, nor as profitably to himself and others, as he would have done, had the restriction never been imposed. Restriction is the sickness of co-operation.

And now, good friend, consider the case of the Kansas farmer with whom you sympathize, in the light of what I have been saying. What is it he is trying to do? To produce wealth by applying his labor to land—to perform his part in the general co-operative scheme by raising wheat and corn and hogs for other men to eat. Consider the restrictions under which he is working. Consider how, instead of being left free to do what he thinks will be most advantageous for himself, he is compelled to do what other people think will be most to their advantage. He is forbidden to use land, unless he first buys the privilege from some fellow man. He is forbidden to build a house or barn, except on payment of a fine to other men. He is forbidden to sell his produce to people across the ocean, except on condition of surrendering to other people a portion of what he gets in exchange for it. He is forbidden to sell it to people in his own country except on condition that he take in exchange things at fictitious prices, enhanced for the benefit of certain individuals. Restrictions are heaped up all around him. It is as though society built artificial mountains round his farm, and compelled him to expend, in getting his produce over them, the greater portion of the energy that, were he left unrestricted, he would expend in producing wealth. And what does he do? Simply the best he can under

the circumstances. And your thirty Hartford loan offices, and your investing ministers of the gospel co-operate with him loyally, and do the best they can to help him.

Now don't you see where the real trouble is? Don't you see that the thing to be attacked is the system of restrictions. Pull down the artificial mountains from around that Kansas farmer's farm—make a free man of him—give him a chance to co-operate with the fullest efficiency with all the other millions who are co-operating with him—and then if he doesn't succeed in life, it will be his own fault. But he will succeed—you need have no fear on that score. For you can't pull down the mountains that encircle him without pulling down also those that confine the energies of other people. And with sixty million people co-operating to help him along, he must be a poor stick, indeed, if he cannot make a living.

On the fourth page of the Press, May 31:

Says the fifth column to the sixth column:

"This town is full of men and women who don't know where they are going to get their bread and butter, and as for cake and pie, birds and bottles, they never dream of such things. Every day in every week, people well born and well bred, with really excellent education, fitted to fill responsible positions with competent skill, come asking the way to the Jericho of support."

Says the sixth column to the fifth column:

"We can make anything in this country except pauper laborers. We won't do that."

No comments. None necessary.

One of my morning strolls, lately, took me past the Vienna bakery at Broadway and Tenth street. It was early morning, not later than 6 o'clock, and the streets were comparatively empty. A knot of people waiting at the side door of the bakery attracted my attention. It was composed of men and little children. There wasn't a grown girl or woman in the crowd. The men were poorly dressed, but they clearly were not tramps, nor did I see among them any whose faces showed evidences of drink. There they stood, the children with great baskets on their arms, the men slouching in that indescribable fashion peculiar to men out of work, all evidently waiting for something to happen. I was out of a job myself for the moment, so I waited too and watched. Presently the side door opened. I expected to see something like a rush, but I was wrong. The men and children entered quietly, one or two at a time, without any crowding or confusion. After a minute they commenced to come out. The little girls' baskets were stuffed full of loaves, and every man carried a great hunch of bread. I asked a black bearded gentleman, who stood by the door and seemed to be directing things, what it all meant? He explained that it was the daily distribution of spoiled—I suppose he meant stale—bread. The loaves were being sold for five cents, half-price, and the hunches were given away.

It was queer to notice the behavior of the men as they came out. Many of them began to gnaw their hunches at once, with the eagerness of famished dogs. I, myself, had just been refreshing nature with a cup of excellent coffee, and some very nice French rolls and butter, and so was in a philosophical observant mood. Others stuffed their hunches into their bosoms and buttoned up their threadbare coats to hide them. One man caught my eye and blushed. I felt that I was blushing, too. Afterward I wondered why a man should blush to be seen availing himself of an opportunity to get food with little work. I wondered, too, why I should blush to see him blush. I know I try to get my own bread with as little work as possible, and the less work I get it with the more satisfied I feel with myself. It's astonishing what things one sees and what thoughts one thinks if one only gets up early enough in the morning.

T. L. MCCREADY.

Not in Pauper England, but in Free America.

Rockville, Ind., Tribune.

The Clay county miners, having been reduced in wages are leaving "them diggin'" in great numbers.

N. B.—Clay county is not in pauper England.

Two Important Admissions by the Leading Republican Paper of Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia Ledger.

It is the consumer who pays all taxes ultimately, no matter how they may be assessed, and land tax is a convenient form, for the land cannot get away or be hidden from the the assessor.

CURRENT THOUGHT.

The North American Review for June contains a very interesting paper on "The religious value of enthusiasm," by the founder of one of the most widely known and successful religious movements of modern times. At the head of the article itself the author is described as "General William Booth, commander in chief of the Salvation army." In the index on the front cover of the magazine, he figures simply as "William Booth." I do not for one moment imagine that there was in this any intention of slighting a contributor. And yet I cannot but think that if General Booth had been a commissioned officer of some regular army, or even an uncommissioned archdeacon of the Protestant Episcopal church, he would have been accorded his official title in the index. And surely if ever any man was identified with a title William Booth is so. As plain William Booth, he has been little heard of. As General Booth, the whole civilized world knows him. And his title is no empty name, worn as a trimming to a commonplace personality. It stands for a power and responsibility such as are associated with few other men. Whatever else may be said of the Salvation army and its chief, no one can deny the almost resistless energy with which they have prosecuted their work, or the success that has attended their labors.

Unintentional though it may have been, it seems to me that this omission of the general's title is really indicative of the slightly approving, partly tolerating, smilingly condemning way in which a large number of people, who somehow fancy themselves to be the vast majority of mankind, regard what is, beyond all question, the most earnest and successful movement of orthodox Christianity to-day. When such people speak of the Salvation army, it is in a tone, at best, of pitying toleration, and more often of sneering wonderment. They are glad to see the lower classes brought under conviction by any means, however humble. They would not think of asserting—those of them, I mean, who believe in Christianity—that a laboring man may not find the road to heaven in the army's ranks. But that the religion of the Salvation army is the same religion as that in which they believe, is an idea that really never enters their minds. For them, there is a poor man's religion, just as there is a poor man's home. The Salvation army furnishes a good-enough quality of the one, as the tenement house supplies a good-enough quality of the other. And they would no more think of feeding the hunger of their souls on such spiritual food as makes the rations of the army, than they would think of housing their bodies in such buildings and amid such surroundings as they consider quite sufficient for millions of their fellow men. They talk glibly of their devotion to religion's cause—and I don't mean to say that the devotion is not, in many cases, real enough—they are eager for its advancement, they are willing to give a little of their time and a good deal of their money to it. But as for undertaking to push it by such methods as making a joyful noise in the sight of men, as preaching on street corners, as shaking a tambourine on the stage of some east side hall—well, now, you know, things of that sort are altogether unsuited, alike to their rank in life and to the dignity of the cause they are interested in. The simple fact is, such methods are not suited to their religion, though they do well enough for the religion of the poor.

It will not do to say that it is only the methods of the Salvation army propaganda that these critics object to—that they believe in the same God, the same Christ, the same gospel, as the enthusiasts they sneer at. They may think they do. But they do not. It is impossible they should. For however men may amuse themselves by asserting that religion has no concern save with a life beyond the grave, the fact remains that its aim is, and of necessity must be, the consolation and spiritual nourishment of men in this life. No man can by any argument or appeal be induced to accept a religion that does not add to the comfort of his lot on earth—that does not turn the edge of his sufferings, or make keener the zest of his enjoyments. This, it seems to me, is the meaning that lies behind the saying, that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. How should it be possible, under present condi-

tions, that a rich man—a man who, by the mere fact of his riches, is compelled to appropriate the wealth that others have produced—how should it be possible that he should find comfort or encouragement in the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount? The very idea involves a contradiction. For the Sermon on the Mount is a protest—the most thrilling ever uttered—against things as they are. But the gospel of the rich man—the only gospel that can bring comfort to his soul—is, of necessity, a gospel of things as they are. The Sermon on the Mount—the gospel that Christ preached—is, above all else, a poor man's gospel. And from the days of its first announcing, down to this year of grace 1889, ever and always, it has been the common people who have heard it gladly. Its spirit is the spirit of equality—equal rights, equal opportunities, equal guardianship of a loving Father.

Has General Booth discovered this gulf between the religion of the rich and the religion of the poor? He does not say so. On the contrary, while reproaching the churches of the rich for their apathy, he is careful to express his anxiety to "avoid saying any word that may reflect upon any other followers of the same King." And yet I think the idea is in his mind, without his being conscious of it. "We have it," he says:

We have it upon the highest authority that no class has after all so great difficulty in becoming or remaining truly religious as those who have plenty of this world's goods. Surrounded and almost overwhelmed by circumstances calculated to divert the mind from every spiritual consideration, and opposed, whenever they attempt anything like hearty adhesion to the cause of Christ, by their whole circle, it is indeed "hard for them that have riches to enter into the kingdom of God." I must honestly confess that I have never known an instance of a rich man who was successful in the attempt, without having first sold all that he had, if not in the literal sense, at least in that of absolutely and completely coming out from his circle to be an avowed and enthusiastic follower of Christ. From John Wesley downwards I believe every great leader in the religious world would agree with me that the wealthy "patron of the society," who expects to wield influence at least in proportion to the extent of his liberality, is one of the greatest hindrances to the church's success. How common is it to find ministers and even churches who confess themselves powerless to carry out the work as they believe they ought, because "it would never do" to offend "Squire S. and So. For the scruples of the 'Squire I have only discovered one effectual cure, namely, to get him fired with the very same spirit which made apostolic farmers sell up and go out to die.

General Booth might have added that for the powerlessness of the churches he has also discovered but one effectual cure, namely, to get them to give up preaching the 'Squire's religion and preach something entirely different.

The lesson which General Booth seems to want to drive home into the minds of the readers of the North American Review is that enthusiasm will win, when nothing else will do so. He makes no appeal for assistance in his work. He does not say to the rich, or to anybody else, "come and help us." He simply announces that for whomsoever would aid in converting the masses of mankind to Christianity, there is but one way to go about it if they want to achieve success—they must fire their souls with enthusiasm, fling conventionalities to the winds, and speak to men as though indeed they bore them tidings of surpassing joy, and were all aflame with ardor for the spreading of the news. He preaches enthusiasm for the sake of its practical results, and preaches it to Americans as to practical men—"men who know how to turn villages into cities, territories into states, and states into stepping stones of power." "I must confess," he says, "that I always have looked, and shall continue to look, to the American continent and to the colonies for examples of this chivalrous devotion which has become so rare in modern times in the old world. Surely the energies and abilities of the new nations that are growing up across the Atlantic are not going to be absorbed altogether in the construction of railroads, canals and palaces. Surely in this enlightened age we shall yet see the spectacle of men, possessed of resources of every kind, throwing themselves into the service of God with something like the completeness of devotion common in what are called the dark ages." And, pointing his teaching with illustration, he reminds Americans of the boundless enthusiasm they, more than any other people, are in the habit of showing on behalf of any cause in which they are really interested.

It will, I think, be admitted on all hands

that no candidate for the presidency would stand the faintest chance of election if his foremost advocates contented themselves with the quiet and dignified sort of propaganda that is thought the correct thing by those whose business it is to make the nations awake to the claims of Jesus Christ to universal sovereignty. To win the million, there must be the putting forth at every turn of such efforts as can only spring from the most enthusiastic partisanship. This is a principle that one would have expected any common sense nineteenth century being to be wide awake to. But, alas! Jesus Christ is most sacredly guarded from success by the unaccountable prejudices of the bulk of his own party. Consequently we see the little handfuls resorting weekly to the church, and the huge majority crushing daily into the theatre and saloon.

We who against apparently overwhelming odds, but with the courage born of faith and conscious right, are struggling for industrial emancipation, should lay to heart the lesson that General Booth teaches, and profit by the example he has set. We, like him, are engaged in a work of which religion is the very core and essence. We, like him, are striving after the kingdom of God. By different methods he and we are working for a common aim. He seeks to usher in the kingdom by *persuading* men to obey Christ's precepts. We strive to effect the same result by making it *possible* for men to live as Christ told them to. Our movement is a religious movement, or it is nothing. Its glory and its sure warrant of success are in the fact that it is no cold-blooded scheme of mere fiscal reform—no mere attempt to substitute one kind of tax for another kind of tax—no mere effort to exploit some patent milking machine for draining the udder of the taxation cow more scientifically. And as is the ardor and activity of our enthusiasm for it, so will be the measure of its progress.

Men pine for true religion. Their souls are ever hungering for spiritual food. Who can doubt it, who saw, in this city of New York two years ago, a great audience spring to their feet with shouts and cheers of joy, with waving handkerchiefs and applauding hands, as with electric suddenness there flashed upon them the full import of the prayer: Thy kingdom come; thy will be done, in earth as it is in heaven. No schoolman's logic could have fired them so. No labored argument or statistical demonstration could so have wrought upon them. The divine ardor of the speaker thrilled their hearts, and on a wave of enthusiasm their souls were lifted into the full vision of the truth.

Why should we be ashamed of our enthusiasm? Why should we be ashamed to appeal to the heart rather than the head? Emotion is a far more trustworthy guide than reason. Or it were truer to say, emotion is the highest development of reason. Who is there that has not, time and again, brushed aside some labored argument, seemingly irrefutable, with the all-sufficing answer: I know it *can't* be so? Men's minds are made that way. They cling to truth as iron to the magnet. We don't know why or how. But do we know the why or how of rationalization? As little as we know the why or how of gravity's attraction. It will be an evil day for the cause of industrial emancipation—an evil day for freedom—when the religious enthusiasm that now inspires men to work for it shall be quenched with the cold water of mere fiscal reform. But there is little fear of that.

T. L. MCREADY.

GROWING REBELLIOUS.

The Miners in the Pennsylvania Coal Fields Turning Against the Tyranny of the Politicians and Monopolists—Breaking Away from Old Prejudices—Many Men who were Earnest Protectionists Last Summer are now Disgusted With It.

A special dispatch to the New York Times from Scranton, Pa., says:

The difficulty of obtaining legislation favorable to the workingmen of Pennsylvania, and particularly to the great army of miners, who are subject to all sorts of exactions at the hands of the anthracite coal magnates, has been demonstrated once more in a forcible manner by Mr. Quay's "model legislature," which adjourned a short time ago without placing a single law of permanent value in the interest of labor upon the statute books. The masses are beginning to realize this fact in earnest, and they feel that as long as they ally themselves with the partisan bosses, democratic and republican, who are always so eager to cater to the monopolists who can subscribe liberally to campaign funds, so long will their interests be sacrificed to the great corporations whose sleek lobbyists are more powerful than the general assembly itself at every session of that body. Through constitutional tricks and "parliamentary" technicalities, every

measure brought forward in the interest of the poorly paid miners at the beginning of the legislative session is usually smothered, while laws favorable to the big corporations are passed without friction.

The 45,000 workmen employed in the great coal industry of the Lackawanna, Luzerne and Schuylkill valleys ought to be able to remedy this great wrong, and they feel that the time has come when they ought to assert themselves in politics and exact simple justice and fair play from the wealthy coal masters who have recently been making labor their plaything. In every presidential campaign the workingmen of the mines are told that unless they support "protection" the blight of idleness and desolation will descend upon the Keystone state and scatter untold misery through the mining districts. They are told that "tariff reform" is a delusion which would make them wretched indeed if adopted, and that the only way to perpetuate prosperity is by voting and working for protection. These arguments usually proceed from the monopolists and they are echoed by many sincere Pennsylvanians who have been under the impression that without the protective system the toilers of the Keystone state would be reduced to starvation wages. At the same time corporations and contractors have been availing themselves at every point of the cheapest kind of labor the world ever produced, and leaving the intelligent worker, who expects reasonable pay for his work, to eke out a miserable existence on the result of a few days' toil a month in and about the mines. The region has been overrun with cheap foreign labor, and now if a railroad is to be built anywhere, or if streets are to be made, hundreds of Italians, Hungarians and Poles, whose modes of life no civilized human being could possibly adopt, and least of all an American, are hired like slaves, at the paltriest kind of pay, while the men whose votes are usually sought in the interest of "protection" are overlooked.

Outside the slave and the lash in the darkest districts of the south before the civil war there has not been a more degraded class in this country since the days of Columbus than the "Huns." They are hired out in gangs, and receive whatever pay the labor broker sees fit to give them for their work. Even their identity becomes lost. Their names are known only to themselves and to the padroni, who makes a good livelihood by securing such gangs for those who want them on short notice. The laborers themselves are numbered for identification, and the employer or the boss takes no heed whatever of their names. If he wants No. 1 he calls the number, and the man who figures under this name responds. No. 100 does likewise when he is called by his figure name, and so it goes. When a railroad is to be built or a piece of labor of any considerable magnitude is to be done the contractors communicate with the labor broker, who is generally a cunning Italian, and manages to squeeze a commission out of both sides for his services. The contractor says he wants a hundred laborers at the same price as the last lot, or he may want five hundred. Dealing wholesale in this way, he gets them much cheaper than if he engaged them in "blocks of five," or undertook to organize the gang himself. The labor-monger communicates with the gang master as soon as he receives the order, and in a short time the pick-and-shovel brigade reports for duty. The labor-monger gets his commission from the contractor at once, and he exacts his money from the men for whom he thus obtained employment when they get their first month's pay. The gang master attends to that matter. Indeed, this is one of the principal duties for which he was selected.

While this slavish system, which is little better than that abolished in the south a few years ago, is going on intelligent American labor languishes because the "protection" railroad builders have solved the free trade problem in toil to suit their purposes and their pockets. If free trade ideas prevail in Pennsylvania in the next national campaign it will be because of the avarice of the monopolists who pocket all the fat profits resulting from protection, avail themselves of the cheapest labor they can find anywhere, and discriminate against intelligent workingmen, native and naturalized, who are citizens and voters. This phase of the industrial problem is receiving much attention among the masses just now, and it is not likely that they will be so easily deluded by the monopolistic machine politicians in the next campaign. Many who were most earnest for protection last summer are now fairly disgusted at the selfishness displayed by the capitalists, who seem to have no consideration whatever for the people except at election time.

Brightening Up in Greenpoint.

The Greenpoint single tax club will hold its next meeting at the Rev. Arthur Whitaker's parish hall, Java street, Thursday evening, June 13, and the second and fourth Thursday in every month thereafter. All persons interested are cordially invited to attend these meetings. Opportunity for discussion will be given.

Meetings in Denver.

DENVER, Col.—The Single tax association meets every Thursday night at 1448 Lawrence street, A. W. Elder, Longfellow school, president. H. C. Niles, secretary, 2847 Downing avenue.

NOTE-BOOK JOTTINGS.

I had a talk lately on the social question with an "everybody's friend"—the conductor of a street car. He worked twelve hours a day with no "swings"—that is, without intermission—for \$2. He did not believe in a labor organization for men in his occupation, preferring to depend on the benevolence and sense of fairness of his employers. He said his parents had a farm "up the state," which ten years ago was worth \$10,000, but now they would be glad to get \$6,000 for it. However, it had as yet no mortgage on it, while most of their neighbors were heavily mortgaged. He spoke bitterly of foreign immigration, and believed his wages would go up if the gateway for it were closed. He knew there were small hopes of promotion on his line, did not know of any business in which there was an opening for him, and understood from the Oklahoma scramble how scarce land must be in the western country. His talk furnished food for reflection. An American, about twenty-five years of age, of fair mental power, in good health, falling away from the standing of his people, taking his place hopelessly in the ranks of the *proletariat*, expecting unselfishness on the part of stockholders in a big dividend-paying concern, and imbued with a hatred for foreign pauper labor!

A lady shopping in one of the large stores a few days ago witnessed a brief scene which tells a complete story of the condition of the child slaves of New York. A woman in charge of a line of cash boys, after giving them all a scolding, suddenly took hold of one little fellow and dragged him to her desk in front of the rest. There, berating him with her tongue, she shook him and finally caught him by the head and banged it against the heavy front board of the desk. Then she discharged him, and, turning to the other white-faced children said that if any one of them wanted his day's pay he could take it and go. None responded. All this in the presence of a dozen customers standing or sitting near by. Of what avail are anti-cruelty societies and all the similar institutions in the face of conditions that have forced children to work in such a place as that?

The Age of Steel says the wage question promises to be "exceedingly interesting" to iron and steel men during the next few weeks. A scale is to be arranged for the twelve months following June 30. As the Western iron association went to pieces last summer, the Amalgamated association of iron and steel workers is left alone to treat with the manufacturers. The employers whose hands are not organized have been gradually cutting down wages for more than a year past, and now their competitors must also yield to the necessities of their business and order reductions. Yes, true enough; but the wages-supporting tariff?

"Labor" is not having much show in the New York daily papers nowadays. There is no labor party; the central labor union is split up; "Forty-nine" has even lost its hall; there are no picturesque strikes going on. The old unions, having returned to their businesslike way of carrying on work, attract little attention. But there are just as many poor as there were three years ago, living on wages a good deal less, on the average, than they were then. There is no land of promise in sight for them, via solidarity, the sympathetic strike, co-operation, or third party politics. So the once lively pen of the labor reporter is becoming rusty.

There are plenty of labor organizations in New York yet, with many thousand members. But on the whole the wage workers are at the present time unorganized, hopeless, apathetic, skeptical as to labor reformers, indifferent to projects for their amelioration. A circular from some single tax men, on being posted in an establishment recently where it might be read by the employees, was greeted with—"Trying to take life into the Henry George party again?" But the speaker found himself tackled on the spot with a challenge to discuss the question of who gets the wealth produced by the workers annually, and how to bring it back to them and at the same time give them the chance of producing more.

If, indeed, as a result of all the forms of social agitation in recent years, there is one principle above all others firmly

fixed in the minds of the masses of New York workers, it is that the necessity for land reform is world wide. It would be hard to find many among them who would defend speculation in vacant land. A very large proportion are convinced that the first and most important step in clearing the way to equal rights is in destroying land monopoly. A considerable number of the most active and influential members of every trades union understand the single tax thoroughly. Add to these facts the undoubted one that the single tax, both as a tax reform and as a means of restoring to men their natural rights, is steadily gaining ground among men in all walks of life, and the "faking" of life into the movement begins to look like something come to stay.

An acquaintance directed my attention on the street the other day to a comfortable looking middle aged couple. "They are shrewd French people," he said. "They have a little income—enough to meet current expenses if they live economically. But, not wishing to settle down to doing nothing, they employ part of their capital themselves. They attend auctions and when they see a good thing—book, picture, or bit of furniture—going at a bargain, they buy it. What they thus collect they sell either to private customers or dealers, and, as they have made a business of it, they seldom lose in their speculations."

A good many men and women with leisure employ not a little of their time in looking for bargains. An income of \$2,000 a year, under the management of people who know how to buy, can be made to do the work of double the amount in the hands of those who cannot take the time or have not the knack of nosing out things that are cheap—and good. A fortune may be saved in a few years by a man of some wealth in the wise purchase of luxuries. If he has an acquaintance in the wine business in Europe he may stock his cellar with a better variety of wine at a far lower cost than if he bought of an importer. The buyer of pictures who keeps his cash ready runs little risk in getting hold of good, or, what is much the same, fashionable pictures, cheap when money is tight in general business. The New York woman who has the run of the great stores can "buy herself rich" in watching bargain sales of goods usually high priced.

The poor are left out in the cold on these chances. As a rule they have neither the time nor the cash to profit by advantages as they come up. They may know of them and yet be obliged to see them go by. There are hundreds of small stores in New York that subsist through the chronic emptiness of the pockets of their customers. Their proprietors trust on the system of making the debtors who pay cancel the accounts of those who do not. Their custom comes mainly from wage-earners whose week's pay is often spent before it is earned. The installment plan also entices from slender purses many a dollar that might be better handled. If the poor could start in to live on a cash basis, sudden failures would be common with small "butchers, grocers, and candle-stick makers."

One day last week a man who is described by the daily papers as a "hulking fellow," who had been lounging for some days about a lumber yard near the river on the west side, demanded pay for watching the lumber, although it is alleged no one had employed him to do so. He pushed his claim so aggressively that the owner of the yard struck him on the head with a stick, inflicting injuries that caused his death. Whatever may be the facts in this case, the lumber yard owners have a rough time with the gangs of hard citizens who hang about their premises in day time and sleep there during summer nights. Trampdom has taken the city's lumber yards into its possession. Were it possible to clear them out by a night raid, the number of prisoners captured would frighten the good people living on the fashionable streets or by a few blocks away who believe they go to bed in security.

The Real Estate Record and Guide continues to be edited with marked intellectual vigor. To a single taxer it is an interesting publication. Apart from the fact that it contains in every issue many items serving to heap up the evidence that the rich are taking ample care to secure the unearned increment, its editorial utterances on the taxation question are always significant—the messages of a

general of the enemy, as it were. In its last issue it touches upon the interest that real estate has in prohibition. In several Kansas municipalities, in default of saloon license money, have tried to tax doctors, hackmen, lawyers, and other working people. The courts, however, have decided against the legality of such taxes, and so the "burdens" of real estate must be made heavier. This is "a forced step toward Henry George's single tax scheme," "in keeping with a tendency everywhere visible to increase the taxation upon real estate," and "events are undoubtedly moving toward the single tax," but all this is not due "to the acceptance of any theory."

The Record and Guide says the assessor in New York is unable to reach personal property, and as to the tax on it, it has long been a farce upon which the curtain might be rung down with advantage to public morals. It believes the time is rapidly approaching when people will have to choose between on income tax and a tax on real estate.

In another article, the same journal expresses the opinion that "we might with advantage follow the example set by most of the European countries and exempt new buildings from taxation for a period of say five years after completion." In Austria-Hungary neither the "house rent tax" nor the "house class tax" is imposed for twelve years upon new buildings, or upon new stories or parts of buildings, or upon old buildings reconstructed. In Belgium, buildings constructed or reconstructed do not pay the state real estate tax until the first of January the second year after they are first occupied. In many Italian cities the exemption of new buildings is for two years. In the Netherlands the period is eight years. In England unoccupied houses are not taxed. In France new houses are exempt for two years, drained marshes twenty five years, lands re-forested thirty years, and land retitled after laying idle for fifteen years, ten years.

A writer in the June number of Scribner's Magazine tells us something of the progress of "young Italy." "Freed at last from her fetters, proud of her unity, conscious of her increasing strength," she feels ambition stirred within her. "Under this powerful and vivifying impulse all is transformed; waste territory is reclaimed; agriculture, which was unprogressive, becomes intelligent and scientific; great manufactories are started all over the peninsula; Rome, Naples, Palermo, Catania are fast becoming great modern cities where the constantly increasing value of real estate has enriched as many far-seeing business men as in our young western towns, St. Paul or Kansas City!"

To be sure, and other business men of far sight and heavy bank accounts will be at the same game on the Congo as soon as people enough get there to make it pay—the game of heading off the crowd rushing for a place to find work. At the particular spot in Italy described by the writer mentioned it is "almost impossible for a day laborer to save enough from his wages to buy himself a field, the country belonging to three or four rich families, who, according to tradition, only sell when constrained by absolute necessity—one may as well say, never sell." Wages are ridiculously low—20, 25, 30 cents a day, according to the season, just enough to keep the poor from starving.

A windfall has come to a number of owners of real estate on Forty-third and Forty-fourth streets, west of Fifth avenue. The neighborhood has for a long time not been a very desirable one, considering the location, as stables and vacant lots formed an eyesore to the occupants of its brown stone houses. Recently, however, the lots and stables have changed hands, and a frontage of 200 feet will soon have handsome residences on it. As a consequence, land values in the locality have gone up with a bound.

The rents of many Columbia college leaseholds have been advanced this year to an extent unexpected by the tenants. The ground rent of No. 38 West Fifth street was raised from \$360 to \$789; that of No. 62 from \$288 to \$601; that of another house on the same street from \$320 to \$683; a Fifth avenue corner went up from about \$400 to \$2,700. The tract affected takes in four blocks from north to south, and nearly a block from east to west. The owners of the houses are complaining that the increase in the ground

rents amounts to a confiscation of a good part of the value of their houses.

In reply to the question Does it pay to lease one's ground instead of disposing of it? the Record and Guide says: "Well, in reply to that, it can only be said that the Columbia college has no doubt found it does. It has derived a very handsome income for a generation from its properties, an income which has been as sure as anything on earth could be, for a failure on part of a lessee to pay ground rent, taxes or other charges, enables them to take possession of his property. They have not lost a cent in all those years and now they come in for a vastly increased rental which is secure for twenty-one years more, no matter whether there be ups and downs, panics, fires, or other catastrophes." In this reply there are good arguments for the single tax. It, too, would be as sure of being collected as anything on earth! If it absorbed every cent of the ground rent, it would serve the grasping landlord about right, as he has done nothing in producing the wealth he is taking. And then, too, for reasons often explained, it would be impossible for the single tax to run the ground rent so high as to confiscate improvements and make it continue to pay either landlord or state.

A correspondent asks how building and loan associations could do business under the single tax. Land, he says, having no selling value, would not answer as security. The reply to this question is found in the every-day practice of the Philadelphia associations. There the buyer of a home often gets his lot on ground rent—a sort of single tax paid to a landlord. If the house is already standing on such a lot, its full value will not, as a rule, be loaned by the association, the buyer (and borrower) being obliged to advance the difference from funds of his own. If he is to build, his association will lend nearly the value of his improvements when his house is in part finished. Under the single tax, a lot being secured and a few hundred dollars' worth of work done, the builder of a house could get a mortgage through an association to the value of perhaps 80 per cent of the part finished. This would go on in successive stages until the house was completed. The association's mortgage under the single tax would be even more secure than it is now. The transaction would involve less money, the danger from fluctuating land values would be less, and, more than all, the homeseeker would be more likely to have steady employment, and consequently the more surely command the means to pay off his indebtedness.

The Chicago Leader is printing in full the proceedings of the tariff reform convention held in that city in February. In the issue of May 25 is the report of a speech made by Mr. Read Gordon, a protected manufacturer who prays for no protection. All the speech is good reading, but here is a declaration to be remembered: "If the tariff was taken off tin, the industry of which I am a representative will not only supply the home market but will make the home market a large one, and put it within the power of every American citizen at all times to have upon his table the delicacies of the seasons at moderate prices. It will prevent the entry into this country of every foreign fruit and vegetable which is not *per se* a god-given fruit or vegetable that cannot be grown here." That is the sort of attack which should often be made on our tariff for the destruction of American industries.

A work on "Socialism in England," by Sidney Webb, L.L.B., just issued by the American economic association—a well written statement, by the way, of the recent progress of the various radical movements in England—has a good deal to say about the spread of single tax ideas in that country. Speaking of the work going on under the "Joint committee for the taxation of ground rents and values," it says: "This committee, presenting its aims in the moderate and practical way dear to the English mind, has already exercised a most potent influence, and at least two-thirds of the members of the recently elected London county council adopted its programme. The movement for the absorption by taxation of the site value of great cities is making enormous strides, and at the present moment (April, 1889) the lectures of Mr. Henry George are being presided over by liberal members of parliament and candidates for that honor, as well as by ministers and other leaders of the great nonconformist religious bodies." GARRA.

INDIVIDUALISM AND SOCIALISM.

Grant Allen in Contemporary Review.

Before me, on my table here in Florence lies a paper or prospectus of a certain London association, curiously styling itself (I know not why) the Liberty and Property defense league, which enumerates as one of its chief objects, among others not now immediately interesting, "the advocacy of individualism as opposed to socialism, irrespective of party politics." This prospectus, with its cheering promise, was sent me by some kind correspondent somewhere (who omitted to prepay it), presumably because he had heard me described by somebody else as an individualist (which is quite true), and because he thereupon jumped at once to the illogical and practically erroneous conclusion that I must therefore be necessarily opposed to what calls itself socialism (which is of course a profound mistake). And as this mistake appears to be widely spread throughout Great Britain at the present moment, where the old crusty Toryism, tricked out as individualism, in the borrowed feathers of liberty and property defense leagues, is prowling about the country generally, seeking what good but week-kneed liberals it may devour unawares, it may, perhaps, be worth while to discuss briefly the supposed opposition between individualist and socialist, and to show that on closer examination it melts away for all practical purposes into a phantom of language.

I will begin by plunging at once *in medias res* with the fundamental principle which liberty and property defense leagues and all their kind so studiously avoid recognizing in any way: the principle that individualism, in any true sense of the word, is only possible where all start fair, without any artificial handicapping whatsoever. A liberty and property defense league which sets out with the indefensible principle that one man may own another as his private chattel, or may hold an inalienable lien over some portion of another man's time or labor, or the product of his labor, or may monopolize more than his own fair share of the common stock of raw material, or (what comes to the same thing) of the earth's surface—is not individualist at all, but simply rapacious, predatory and lawless. Before you can defend liberty or property, you must be sure that the liberty is liberty and that the property is property; and this is just what these so-called individualists, masquerading in other men's philosophical principles, borrowed with reservations from Mill and Spencer, wholly fail to do.

Let me illustrate my case by a short and palpably exaggerative parable. Once upon a time, in a certain island kingdom of the planet Mars, a number of prominent citizens, of conservative tastes, shocked at the growing wave of socialism, which was just then inundating the Martian world, determined to get up, on their own account, a liberty and property defense league on the mundane pattern. So they invited to their deliberations a delegate from the parent body in London, who duly went over to assist the committee at their constitutive sittings. But to this English delegate's immense astonishment, it shortly appeared that the liberty which the Martian society wished to defend was the immemorial liberty of the small hereditary red-haired caste to boil and eat a dozen each of the black haired majority every year; while the property whose interests they held so sacred was the immemorial right of each red-haired individual to levy a tax upon all ships passing through his own well-demarcated portion of the Martian seas, and to exact a toll of ninety per cent upon all fish caught within its precincts. The London delegate, shocked at this discovery, pointed out with newly awakened warmth of sentiment that property, to be real, must be produced by the person who owns it, or must have been acquired by him from the original producer by free gift or fair barter; and that liberty meant the equal right of each individual to do as he liked, provided he did not in any way infringe the similar right of each other individual to do likewise. Upon which the Martian league, justly outraged by such revolutionary remarks, promptly expelled him as a socialist, a communist and a public enemy.

Now, suppose we inquire how far the London league itself can lay any fair claim to be truly individualist, and how

far it shares in a minor degree these distorted ideas of the Martian society.

Individualism, I take it, is only logically and consistently possible if it starts with the postulate that all men must, to begin with, have free and equal access to the common gifts and energies of nature—soil, water, air, sunshine; and to the common stock of raw material—stone, wood, coal, metal. Any other pretended basis for individualism falls at once most feebly to the ground. For if your citizen has no other right but the right of being turned out loose upon the desert sands, or driven from the fields and farms into the ocean by persons who have already monopolized all the soil, and allow him no resting place for the sole of his foot, then it practically involves slavery and murder, and every other conceivable social monstrosity. Freedom of contract (as we know too well, alas! in the case of Ireland) is a mere verbal quibble for the landless man. To him, it means but the insult that is piled above injury. He must take the terms the monopolists and land barons choose to impose upon him; and those useless and idle people, by virtue of their taboo, can deprive him, legally, of all the fruits of his own labor, except the narrowest possible margin sufficient for a human family to support life upon. If this is individualism, then the individualists of the old stock will have nothing to do with it. They have not so read their Mill on Liberty, and their Social Statics. They will leave it gladly with a cheerful countenance to its new godfathers and protectors, the Tories.

True individualism, however, as understood by all the individualist fathers, means something very different from this. It doesn't begin half way down the subject; it goes straight at once to the root of the whole matter. An individualist is a man who recognizes without stint the full, free and equal right of every citizen to the unimpeded use of all his energies, activities and faculties, provided only he does not thereby encroach upon the equal and correlative right of every other citizen. I add the last words in obedience to a time-honored usage of language; but, as a matter of logic, the former clause itself includes the latter: for "full, free and equal right" implies already the limitation stated in the second part of the stereotyped sentence.

In the world into which the British subject—we cannot yet say the British citizen—is actually born, however, no such right or principle as this has anywhere reached any general practical acknowledgment. On the contrary, the young citizen finds himself from the outset turned loose upon a world where almost every natural energy, and almost every kind of raw material, has been already appropriated and monopolized beforehand by a small and unhappily compact class of squatters and barons. Not one solitary square inch of English soil remains unclaimed on which he can legally lay his head without paying tax and toll to somebody; in other words, without giving a part of his own labor, or the product of his labor, to one of the squatting and baroning class, in exchange for their permission (which they can withhold if they choose) merely to go on existing upon the ground which was originally common to all alike, and has been unjustly seized upon (through what particular process matters little) by the ancestors or predecessors of the present monopolists. He cannot sleep without paying rent for the ground he sleeps on. He cannot labor without buying the raw material of his craft, directly or indirectly, from the lords of the soil, the encroachers on the native common rights of everybody. He cannot make anything of wood or stone, for the wood and the stone are already fully appropriated; he cannot eat of the fruits of the earth, for the earth itself, and all that grows upon it, is somebody else's. The very air, the water, and the sunlight are only his in the public highway; nay more, even there, for a single day alone. His one right, recognized by the law, is the right to walk along that highway till he reels with fatigue—for he must "keep moving"; and then he is liable, if he sleeps or faints in the open, to be brought up before the magistrates charged with the heinous crime and misdemeanor of being a vagabond, without visible means of support, who has paid no rent to the lords of the soil for a square yard of room on which to die comfortably.

The persons who uphold such an atrocious state of things as this are clearly not in any sense individualists. The person

who thus (in the absurd and illogical language of our day) "owns landed property"—a plain self-contradiction—are clearly aggressors upon the equal rights of others, impeding them in the free exercise of their energies and activities, and debarring them from their natural equal right of access to a fair share of the common stock of raw material. For such persons to describe themselves as individualists, or to talk about the defense of liberty and property, is as absurd as for slaveholders to declaim about liberty or for brigands to prate about their sacred right to the ransoms of their prisoners. It is perfectly clear that they do not know, or will not learn, what liberty is. I shall try to show a little later on that they do not know, or will not learn, the true nature of property either.

But, for the moment, let us confine ourselves to liberty alone. It is obvious to any one with a grain of logic in his composition that the state of things described above contains within it the root element of slavery.

For slavery or serfdom is a state of society in which one man is compelled to give up the whole or a portion of his labor or its products to another person, not by free barter, but by brute force, and in return for no adequate or just remuneration. Now, in no state of slavery is it possible or conceivable that the slave or serf should be deprived of quite everything; he must retain, or have returned to him (the distinction is immaterial), at least as much of the product of his toil as will suffice on the average to support himself, and in most cases his women and children. (I say in most cases to cover the specially hideous instance where, either because war makes up the loss, or because "it's cheaper to buy than to breed," the slave is systematically worked to death by the owner or landlord.) And the habit of paying rent agrees with it in this—that each member of the community has to give up the whole or a larger or smaller portion of the product of his labor to another person (called a landlord), at least in return for the right to live upon a few square yards of soil, and often, also, for the right of access to the raw material or producing energies of the earth's surface. In the case of non-capitalist prae-dial labor, the citizen must practically pay everything but the narrowest possible life-supporting margin. What we commonly call an Irish landlord, for example, is a person taboos for his own benefit a certain portion of the soil of Ireland, and exacting from every other person who lives upon it, in return for permission to use the soil, a fixed amount of the product of his or her labor. If the other persons won't submit to this unjust exaction, they are turned out upon the highway to starve, and are liable if they camp out even there to be imprisoned in turn for having no settled place of residence.

A system based upon this fundamentally false idea that every man except a favored few must pay tax and toll for the right to live, is obviously one which incloses within itself the root-principle of slavery. Whenever a liberty defense league is started to oppose it, I for one, as a consistent individualist, will be happy to give in my name to the committee.

Furthermore, any person who so taboos a portion of the soil (above his own fair share) is not an individualist, because he is an encroacher upon the free activities of others. He impedes several of his fellow citizens in their natural right of equal access to all the raw material and energies of nature.

Again, as to property. Property, as conceived by the individualist, means the product of a man's own labor, exerted upon his fair share of the common stock of raw material. The common stock is not and cannot itself be property; for nobody made it, and it belongs in equity to all of us equally. For instance, the county of Sutherland, or the river Thames, or the Bristol channel, or Trafalgar square, cannot be property; nor can a square mile of ocean, or the sunlight that falls on the 5th of August, or a mass of coals in the bowels of the earth, or the stratum of air for five miles above sea level in the city of London. If any man lays a claim to any of these natural areas or energies as his by birth, inheritance, or purchase, he is clearly encroaching upon the common rights and liberties of us all. If, for example, he charges us a royalty for the privilege of extracting iron from his mine, or exacts rent from us for the privilege of building our chimneys into his stratum of air, or appropriates seventy per cent of the fish caught in a certain

space of ocean, or compels us to bolt our shutters and remain indoors on the 5th of August unless we consent to pay him ten pounds a head all round for the use of his sunlight, then he is obviously encroaching on our rights, and treating as property by brute force what is not and can not possibly ever be so.

True property consists of the product of labor, and it can be owned only by the producer himself, or by the person to whom the producer himself has freely given, bartered, or bequeathed it. To have stolen or plundered it gives no real title. And it must be the product of labor exerted upon the laborer's fair share of the common stock of raw material, and no more; if he has filched or unjustly appropriated the raw material, if he has taken more than his due proportion, if he has robbed another of the stuff from which he made it, his right in it is vitiated, and it is no longer property in the individualist sense of the term.

In the beginning of things, of course (to use a transparent but convenient fiction), no great difficulty was likely to arise about the question of this common stock of raw material. The hunter, for example, who deftly fashioned a flint hatchet out of a lump of shapeless stone, did not take largely enough from the general mass of raw flint then and there existing to make his draughts upon the common store worthy of notice. It was the labor expended upon the hatchet in the course of chipping, grinding and polishing that gave it all its real value; and hence in this early stage, the question as to the right of access to raw material never assumed practical importance. From a very early time, accordingly, all sorts of encroachments were permitted by use and wont upon the common stock; at first unimportant, later, under the military organization, monopolist; until at last in our own time and in civilized countries, almost every form of raw material has been appropriated and taboos by somebody somewhere. That evil legacy of the feudal system the European race carries with it everywhere. Soil, with its crop raising and stock feeding potentialities; moor, waste, bog, and woodland; tree, bush, shrub, and herbage; coal, iron, tin, and lead; nay, even in many cases, streams, rivers, water power, and tides, have been converted by an evil use into what passes for property by individuals; so that all members of the community at large are mulcted of a portion of their own real property (I am not using the phrase in its topsy-turvy, etymologically indefensible legal sense) in order to pay for access in some form or other to the false or pretended property of other people in space, air, and raw material.

This, it can hardly be necessary to point out, constitutes a real aggression against property, a partial admission of the principle of slavery—that nobody can even exist in England without paying rent, that is to say, without giving up to an irresponsible monopolist some portion of the product of his own labor, in order to purchase the bare right of existence, and the freedom to exercise his trade or calling.

Now, I am not a visionary or revolutionary land nationalizer. I don't for a moment mean to deny that this question of land, raw material, natural energies, is complicated on every hand by many and serious practical difficulties. I don't for a moment mean to deny that money purchase and investment of capital have introduced into the question all sorts of intricacies impossible of disentanglement. I don't for a moment mean to deny that it is mixed up with innumerable conflicting real rights—that in Westminster, for instance, it is hard to decide how much of the wealth now existing on the soil belongs by rights to the capitalists and builders; how much to the journeymen laborers and bricklayers; how much to the prime common stock of the community or to its joint earnings (the "unearned increment"), and how little, if any, to the so-called freeholder, the gentleman known as the duke of Westminster. I don't for a moment mean to suggest that an immediate or even a gradual resumption of all this wealth, nay, a redistribution of its component parts between the true proprietors, individually or collectively, is practically possible or practically desirable. You can't unravel great tangles of fact and justice offhand like that on abstract principles. But what I do mean to assert is that all this embroilment, this hopeless embroilment, has come about through the absence of the individualist idea in politics; and that the main thing

The fact is, nationalization of raw material, whenever it comes, or if ever it comes (say about the date of the Greek Kalends), will give the socialist practically everything for which he is now so blindly fighting. (I prefer the somewhat cumbersome term of "nationalization of raw material" to the more concise and customary "land nationalization," because the latter

phrase has a tendency to confine the view to the agricultural value of the soil only; whereas the word "land" really includes as well rock, coal, metal, water ways, water power, natural scenery and the actual emplacement of all our cities, towns, and villages. And how great is the economic value of natural scenery alone one may recognize, not only if one looks at Torquay, Cannes, Aix-les-Bains and Carlsbad, but also if one remembers that a single squatter family at Niagara made a large fortune by admitting the public through a turnstile, at a dollar a head, to view the falls, which its ancestors, I suppose, must originally have created.) Well, nationalization of this sort practically amounts to the realization in another form of the socialist programme. Only the socialist fails to see just yet that this is the justest and most practicable method of attaining his aims. By-and-by, precisely in proportion as we arrive nearer and nearer the goal—as we remove every disability and smooth down every injustice—will the honest, hard working, intelligent socialist, the cream of the producers, begin to object to any state interference with his own fair earnings for the benefit of the idle, the dissolute, or the incapable. In those days, it is not improbable, the incompetent and helpless descendants of doing-nothing squatter or robber families will fare hardly at the hands of the quondam socialist leaders.

A WAIL FROM FIFTH AVENUE.

Troubles that come upon us "all in a heap" are hard to be borne. When they **attack** us continuously and unceasingly, or upon a cumulative principle, we grow accustomed to them and become seasoned and hardened. For example, the people of this country have become seasoned to the hardships of the tariff; they don't **mind** paying high prices for things, be-

Still, the wail from Fifth avenue falls upon the sympathetic ears of single tax people with a distant melancholy music, and their hearts go out to the sufferers in their hour of trouble. E. Y. COHEN.

SINGLE TAX MEN.

The following list contains the names and addresses of men active in the single tax cause in their respective localities, with whom those wishing to join in the movement may communicate:

Akron, O.—Jas R. Angier, 106 Allen street.
 Albany, N. Y.—Robert H. Smith, Madison avenue, J. C. Roslert, 23 Third avenue, or James J. Mahoney, secretary Single Tax Cleveland and Thurman club, 25 Myrtle avenue.
 Albemarle, Mont. Ter.—Mrs. Josephine Smith.
 Alameda, Pa.—C. L. Fisher, pres; D. L. Munson, recording secretary single tax club.
 Amsterdam, N. Y.—Harry Book.
 Anacostia, D. C.—Carroll W. Smith, office Anacostia box company, Harrison and Monroe streets.
 Anton Chico, N. M.—Lewis T. Gramst.
 Astabula, Ohio.—C. C. Smith.
 Athens, Pa.—Arthur L. Pierce.
 Atlanta, Ga.—John C. Reed, lawyer, 25 1/2 Marietta street.
 Auburn, Me.—H. G. Cassey, secretary Single tax club.
 Auburn, N. Y.—Lindell Foxcroft, president; H. W. Bonard, secretary Single tax club, College lane.
 Augusta, Ga.—L. A. Schmidt, 525 Lincoln street.
 Avon, N. Y.—Homer Sablin.
 Ballston Spa, N. Y.—Richard Jones, 63 Milton avenue.
 Baltimore, Md.—John W. Fenees, 125 N. Bond street; John Salmon, 415 N. Eutaw street; Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1438 E. Baltimore street.
 Bath-on-the-Hudson, N. Y.—Matthew C. Kirsch.
 Bayville, Long Island, N. Y.—Antonio M. Molina.
 Bayville, Ill.—William Matthews, secretary Tariff reform club.
 Bradford, Pa.—J. C. De Forest, secretary Land and labor club, 26 Newell place.
 Bristol, Dak.—W. E. Brokaw.
 Binghampton, N. Y.—E. W. Dundon, 33 Maiden lane.
 Boston, Mass.—Edwin M. White, 338 Main street, Charles W. L. Leary, 30 Converse avenue, Malden; Hamlin Garland, chairman Single tax league, Jamaica Plain, Brooklyn, N. Y.—George E. West, M. D., 49 Clermont avenue, president Single tax club.
 Burlington, Iowa.—James Love, bookseller, or Richard Campbell, Cambridgeport, Mass.—Wm. A. Ford, 166 Norfolk street, secretary Single tax organization.
 Cambridge, N. Y.—H. W. Johnson, P. O. box 254.
 Canon City, Col.—Frank P. Blake, M. D.
 Canton, O.—S. J. Harmonist, M. D., president single tax club.
 Cape May City.—Wm. Porter, box 57.
 Chamberlain, Dak.—James Brown.
 Charles City, Iowa.—Irving W. Smith, D. D., office opposite the Union house.
 Chicago, Ill.—Frank Pearson, 45 La Salle street; T. W. Whittier, secretary Single tax club, 426 Milwaukee avenue.
 Cincinnati, O.—Dr. David De Beck, 139 West Ninth street; Joseph's news and stationery store, 272 Vine street; Howard's single tax club, 205 Vine street.
 Clanton, Ala.—O. M. Mastin or Alex. G. Duke.
 Cleveland, O.—C. W. Whitmarsh, 4 Euclid avenue; Frank L. Carter, 132 Chestnut street.
 Clinton, Ind.—I. O. Bishop, editor Argus.
 Colons N. Y.—J. C. G. C.
 Colton, Cal.—Charles F. Smith, proprietor Commercial Hotel.
 Columbus, O.—Edward Hyenman, 345 1/2 South High street.
 Cornwall, Cal.—Jeff A. Bailey.
 Cramer Hill, Camden county, N. J.—Chas. P. Jonnston.
 Danbury, Conn.—Sam A. Mann, 34 Main street.
 Dayton, O.—W. W. Kile, 35 E. Fifth street; J. G. Galloway, 265 Samuel street.
 Denver, Col.—Andrew W. Eldor.
 Des Moines, Iowa.—L. J. Kasson, president Single tax club; John W. King, secretary.
 Detroit, Mich.—J. K. Fincham, 45 Waterloo street; J. F. Duncan, 797 Third street, secretary Tax reform association; G. G. Howe, 654 16th st.
 Diamond Springs, Edwards county, Cal.—J. V. Landon.
 Digby, Me.—A. Cross.
 D. H. Stephens, 24 Chestnut street, secretary Henry George club.
 Piermont, N. Y.—Charles R. Hood, P. O. box 13.
 Port Jervis, Pa.—August F. Roberts, 1727 Carey alley.
 Portland, Ore.—S. H. Higges, 45 Stark street; R. H. Thompson.
 Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—William C. Albro.
 Providence, R. I.—Robert Grievie, 32 Sutton street; Dr. Wm. Barker, pres. Rhode Island single tax association.
 Pulaski, N. Y.—C. W. Harbottle.
 Ravenswood, Ill.—W. H. Van Ornum.
 Reading, Pa.—Chas. S. Frazier, 1013 Penn street; Charles Corkhill, 15 N. 6th street.
 Reynoldsburg, Bridge, Conn.—John Carreer, box 20.
 Richmond, Ind.—M. L. Ritchie, 915 South A street; J. E. Hill, 156 South Third street.
 Ridgely, N. Y.—D. C. Sullivan.
 River Falls, Wis.—George H. Bates.
 Rochester, N. Y.—Schneider, 141 North 7th street.
 Roselle, N. J.—Heard Gordon.
 Rutland, Vt.—T. H. Brown, 11 Cherry street.
 San Francisco, Cal.—Judge James G. Maguire, Superior court.
 San Luis Obispo, Cal.—Mrs. Frances M. Milne.
 S. Little, Wash. Ter.—F. P. Morrow.
 Seneca Falls, N. Y.—Wm. H. Atkinson, P. O. box 54.
 Sharon, Conn.—A. J. Bostwick, librarian Single tax club.
 Shenandoah, Pa.—Morris Marsh, president Single tax club; Thos. Potts, secretary.
 Southbury, Mass.—J. H. Howland.
 South Gaston, N. C.—W. L. M. Perkins.
 Sparrow Bush, Orange county, N. Y.—C. L. Dedrick, president Progressive association; John Sheehan, secretary.
 St. L. Lako, Iowa.—J. W. Schrimpf, secretary Tariff reform club.
 Springfield, Ill.—James H. McCrea, secretary Sangamon single tax club, 63 Black avenue.
 Springfield, Mo.—H. A. W. Jumentin, 665 Nichols street.
 St. Louis, Mo.—Hamlin Russell, president Single tax league, 2561 Easton street; Benj. L. Bloom, secretary, room 5, 519 Olive street.
 Stockton, Cal.—D. A. Learned.
 Stockton, Mass.—Dr. W. Symington Brown.
 Streator, Ill.—George G. Guntzner.
 Syracuse, N. Y.—Charles B. Hopkins, 9 Seymour street; H. K. Perry, 104 South Clinton street; or F. A. Paul, 4 Walton street; or James K. McGuire, secretary Single tax club, 50 Greene street.
 Toledo, O.—J. P. Travers, secretary Single tax club, No. 1, 12 Summit street.
 Tacoma, Wash. Ter.—F. C. Clarke, 138 K St.
 Trenton, N. J.—H. R. Matthews, 9 Howell street.
 Troy, N. Y.—H. B. Martin.
 Tuckahoe, N. Y.—Albert O. Young.
 Unionville, Conn.—John McLaughlin.
 Utica, N. Y.—Thos. MacSweeney, 136 Elizabeth street, or J. M. Buckley, grocer, southwest corner First and Main.
 Victoria, B. C.—W. L. Sinton, E. and N. R. R. Co.
 Vincennes, Ind.—Hon. Samuel W. Williams, rooms 2 and 3, 606 bank.
 Waco, Tex.—Frank Grady, lawyer, 163 south 4th street.
 Wakefield, R. I.—David Harrower.
 Washington, D. C.—Dr. William Geddes, 1719 G street, N. W., secretary single tax league.
 Weatherford, Tex.—William M. Ruell.
 West New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y.—A. B. Stoddard.
 Wheeling, W. Va.—John L. Frank, 2377 E. 6th street.
 Whitestone, Long Island, N. Y.—George Harwell.
 Whitman, Mass.—C. F. Bolin, cigar store; Thos. Douglas, president Single tax league.
 Wichita, Ill.—W. W. Brown.
 Worcester, Mass.—E. K. Page, Lake View.
 Yonkers, N. Y.—Joseph Butcherland.
 Youngtown, O.—Hilly Haddiffe, Radcliffe store.
 Zanesville, Ohio.—W. H. Ziegler, 27 Van Buren street.

Crockett, M. E. Libby.
 Gardner, H. T. Cummins.
 Glen Cove, Long Island, N. Y.—Herbert Lorumor.
 Glenview, Mont.—A. H. Sawyer.
 Glens Falls, N. Y.—John H. Quinlan.
 Gloversville, N. Y.—Wm C Wood, M. D.
 Grand View-on-the-Hudson, N. Y.—Henry L. Hinton.
 Harrison, N. Y.—F. J. G. Smith.
 Hartington, Neb.—John H. Felber.
 Hawthall, Mass.—Arthur P. Brock.
 Helena, Mont.—Judge J. M. Clements, secretary Montana
 single tax association.
 Hornsbyville, N. Y.—Wm. C. H. Van Winkle.
 Hot Springs, Ark.—Wm. Albert Chapman.
 Hoosick Falls, N. Y.—F. S. Hammond.
 Houston, Tex.—H. F. Ring, corporation attorney.
 Hutchinson, Kas.—J. G. Malcolm, M. D.
 Hion, N. Y.—George Smith, P. O. box 562.
 Indianapolis, Ind.—J. C. G. Smith, president Single tax
 league, W. U. Tel. Co. Chas. H. Krause, bookkeeper, You
 nega's hardware store, E. Washington street.
 Ithaca, N. Y.—C. C. Platt, druggist, 75 East State street.
 Javayer, N. J.—J. B. H. Walsh.
 Jersey City, N. J.—Justin Dana Miller, secretary Hud-
 son county Single tax league, 86 Ege avenue.
 Kansas City, Mo.—Chas. E. Reid, 214 Highland avenue.
 Kenosha, Wis.—W. D. Gungley.
 Keithsburg, Ill.—M. McDonald.
 Kingston, N. Y.—Theodore M. Romney.
 Lake Forest, Ill.—J. F. James Mc Mann, 21 Edgemoenth st.
 Lonsdale, Ill.—Dr. L. F. Garvin.
 Lewiston, Me.—F. D. Lyford, 3 Cottage street.
 Lexington, Ky.—James Edwin.
 London, England.—William Saunders, 177 Palace Cham-
 bers, Westminster.
 Los Angeles, Cal.—W. H. Douge, 100 North Alameda street.
 Ma Cole, 149 South Hill; or A. Vinette, P. O. St. tion F.
 Lowell, Mass.—Henry Robertson, 5 Metcalf block, Kild-
 der street.
 Lyle, Minn.—C. F. Wendum.
 Lehigh, Pa.—Thos. Williamson, cor Fifth and Church
 streets.
 Lynn, Mass.—Theodore P. Perkins, 14 South Common
 street.
 Madison, Dak.—E. H. Evenson.
 Madison, Wis.—J. S. Becker, president Free trade
 club; Robert Richardson, secretary.
 Manistee, Mich.—Albert Wakley or W. R. Hall.
 Mansfield, O.—W. J. Higgins, manager Western union
 telegraph office.
 Marlboro, Mass.—Geo. A. F. Reynolds.
 Marlborough, N. Y.—J. C. G. Smith.
 Mart, Tex.—J. L. Caldwell, chairman Ninth congressional
 district organizer.
 Marysville, Mont.—S. F. Ralston, Sr., president Montana
 single tax association.
 Massillon, O.—Victor Barnett, 78 East South street.
 Matamoras, Tex.—J. E. Ocean—Robert A. Rohan, 8 Pump
 street, Port Louis.
 Memphis, Tenn.—R. G. Brown, secretary Tariff reform
 club, 50 Madison street; Bolton Smith, 225 Alabama
 street.
 Middletown, Conn.—John G. Hopkins, P. O. box 590.
 Middletown, N. Y.—Jas. H. Fuller, P. O. box 115.
 Milwaukee, W. Va.—J. C. G. Smith, 167 Fourth street.
 Minneapolis, Minn.—C. J. Buell, president Single tax
 league, 402 W. Franklin avenue; E. L. Ryder, secre-
 tary.
 Mobile, Ala.—E. Q. Norton, 23 South Royal street.
 Mt Pleasant, Iowa.—J. C. G. Smith, M. D.
 Mt Vernon, N. Y.—J. L. Hunter.
 Murrayville, Ill.—William Camm, president Democratic
 club.
 Nashville, Tenn.—P. H. Carroll, 255 N. High street, secre-
 tary American land league.
 Neponset, Mass.—Q. A. Lathrop, member Henry George
 club, 43 Waikua street.
 Newark, N. J.—Roy Hugh O. Pentecost, 56 Oriental
 street.
 New Brighton, Pa.—John Seltz, 1 North Broadway.
 Newburg, N. Y.—D. J. McKay, secretary Single tax club,
 238 Broadway.
 New York, N. Y.—Jas.—Wm R Whitmore, secretary Mer-
 cantile assembly, *Herald* office.
 New Haven, Conn.—Willard D. Warren, room 11, 102
 Orange street; Alfred Smith, 105 Day street.
 New Orleans, La.—John S. Walters, Maritime associa-
 tion.
 Newport, Ky.—Joseph L. Schraer, secretary Single tax
 league, 247 Southgate street; Will C. James, 89 Taylor
 street.
 New Westminster, Brit. Col.—Alex Hamilton, member
 Tax reform association.
 Norfolk, Va.—Edward K. Robertson, secretary Alpha
 club, P. O. draw 67.
 North Adams, Mass.—Willard M. Browne, 13 Marshall
 street; B. M. Myers, P. O. box 257.
 North Springfield, Mo.—K. P. Alexander, 1826 North
 Boonville street.
 Norwalk, Conn.—James H. Babcock, lock box 52.
 Oberlin, O.—Edw. H. Haddock.
 Ocala, Fla.—J. C. G. Smith, pres Single tax association.
 Timothy Horan, sec, 85 Railroad street.
 Okmota Wash Ter.—Alexander Farquhar, Adam street
 Omaha, Neb.—John E. Embien, 822 Virginia avenue; Percy
 Popson, pres single tax club, 1512 S. 5th street; C. F.
 Popson, sec, 1112 S. 5th street; J. C. G. Smith, 274 and Blondo
 streets.
 Ordway, Dak.—R. H. Garland, member Tax reform asso-
 ciation.
 Oswego, N. Y.—Alex Skillen, 160 West First street.
 Passaic, N. J.—J. J. Barnard, P. O. box 181.
 Paterson, N. J.—E. W. Nellis, chairman Passaic county
 Single tax, Cleveland campaign committee, 89 North
 Main street.
 Parkersburg, W. Va.—W. I. Boreman, member of Single
 tax league.
 Pawtucket, R. I.—Edward Barker, 23 Gooding street.
 Peoria, Ill.—J. W. Avery.
 Philadelphia, Pa.—J. C. G. Smith, 926 Chestnut street
 or A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut street, secretary
 Henry George club.
 Plerimont, N. Y.—Charles R. Hood, P. O. box 13.
 Pittsburg, Pa.—Mark F. Roberts, 1727 Carey alley.
 Portland, Ore.—S. B. Hedges, 48 Stark street; H. Thomp-
 son.
 Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—William C. Albro.
 Providence, R. I.—Robert Gleve, 32 Sutton street;
 Dr. Wm Barker, pres. Rhode Island single tax asso-
 ciation.
 Puskki, N. Y.—C. V. Harbottle.
 Ravenna, Ind.—Wm. H. Van Ornum.
 Reading, Pa.—Chas. S. Frizer, 1013 Penn street; Charles
 Corkhill, 15 N. 6th street.
 Reynoldsville, Bridge, Conn.—John Carreer, box 20.
 Richmond, Ind.—J. D. Ritchie, 915 South A street; J. E.
 Smith, 1015 S. 6th street.
 Ridgeway, N. Y.—J. C. Sullivan.
 River Falls, Wis.—George H. Bates.
 Rochester, N. Y.—Charles Avel, 7 Morrill street.
 Rolle, N. Y.—R. D. Brown.
 Rutland, Vt.—T. H. Brown, 11 Cherry street.
 San Francisco, Cal.—Judge James G. Maguire, Superior
 court.
 San Luis Obispo, Cal.—Mrs Frances M. Milne.
 S. Little, Wash Ter.—F. P. Morrow.
 Seneca Falls, N. Y.—Wm H. Atkinson, P. O. box 54.
 Seattle, Wash.—J. C. G. Smith, president Single tax club.
 Shenandoah, Pa.—Morris Marsh, president Single tax
 club; Thos. Potts, secretary.
 Southboro, Mass.—S. H. Howes.
 South Gaston, N. C.—W. L. M. Perkins.
 Sparrow Bush, Orange county, N. Y.—C. L. Dedrick,
 president Progressive association; John Sheehan, sec-
 retary.
 St. Albans, Vt.—J. W. Schrimpf, secretary Tariff re-
 form club.
 St. Anged, Ill.—James H. McCrea, secretary Sangamon
 single tax club, 634 Black avenue.
 Springfield, Ind.—H. W. Jewman, 665 Nichols street.
 St. Louis, Mo.—H. H. Hedges, president Single tax
 league, 2761 Barton street; Ben. E. Bloom, secretary,
 room 5, 319 Olive street.
 Stockton, Cal.—D. A. Learned.
 Stratford, Mass.—Dr. W. Symington Brown.
 Strongsville, O.—G. G. G. Smith.
 Syracuse, N. Y.—Charles S. Hopkins, 9 Seymour street;
 H. R. Perry, 149 South Clinton street; or F. A. Paul,
 4 Walton street; or James K. McGuire, secretary Single
 tax club, 59 Greene street.
 Toledo, O.—H. L. Travers, secretary Single tax club, No. 1,
 12 Summit street.
 Tacoma, Wash Ter.—F. C. Clarke, 138 K st.
 Trenton, N. J.—H. R. Matthews, 9 Howell street.
 Troy, N. Y.—H. B. Marbits.
 Tuckahoe, N. Y.—Albert O. Young.
 Unionville, Conn.—John McAdiffe.
 Ureka, N. Y.—Thos. M. Sweezy, 12 Elizabeth street, or
 Daniel M. Buckley, grocer, southwest corner First and
 Starline.
 Victoria, B. C.—W. L. Sinton, E. and N. R. R. Co.
 V. ceennes, Ind.—Hon Samuel W. Williams, rooms 2 and
 3, 100 W. Main street.
 Waco, Tex.—Frank Grady, lawyer, 163 south 4th street.
 Wakefield, R. I.—David Harrower.
 Washington, D. C.—Dr. William Geddes, 1719 G street, N.
 W. secretary Single tax league.
 Washington, D. C.—Wm. H. Williams, N. Y.
 West New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y.—A. H. Stoddard.
 Wheeling, W. Va.—John L. Frank, 237 E. 10th street.
 Whitestone, Long Island, N. Y.—George Harwell.
 Wilmam, Mass.—C. F. Bolin, cigar store; Thos Douglas,
 president Single tax league.
 Woodstock, Ill.—Wm. C. G. Smith.
 Worcester, Mass.—F. K. Page, Lake View.
 Yonkers, N. Y.—Joseph Butterland.
 Youngtown, O.—Hilly Radcliffe, Radcliffe house.
 Youngtown, Pa.—Wm. L. Hughes, 27 Van Buren street.

THE UNHAPPY OF EARTH.

In God or Man to Blame for All Human Misery?

Judge Frank T. Reid in Nashville Herald.

Will some statistician tell me how many ragged, hungry children there are on the earth to-day? How many of these, on an average, must become the pray of brothels and prisons? How many of these, on an average, must inevitably live the lives of brutes and devils? Will he tell me how many women and children are at work in underground mines? How many ruined women, who were once innocent, pure hearted little girls, walk the gas and electric lighted streets of the towns and cities of Christendom? Lost, lost, lost. God's fair earth that might and ought to have been a heaven to them made a hell! Will he tell me how many drunkards are staggering on their way to the pit of woe? And their poor wives and little children? Will he tell me how many flesh-clothed immortal souls are caged in dens of rock and iron, little bigger than a grave? Will he tell me the number of women and girls, who from early morning until far into the night "stitch, stitch, stitch, in hunger, poverty and dirt?" Will he tell me how many sweaters' victims there are? How many human beings with hearts are packed like sardines in tenement houses? How many weary and heavy-laden men there are—for whom there is no rest this side of the grave, and no hope beyond it—human brutes, dying ignorant, brutalized by work, who might, under a better social system, have been sons of wisdom and nobleness? Will he tell me how many despairing, breaking hearts the sun look down upon to-day? How many thieves who commit depredations upon the toilers and producers of wealth, with impunity, protected by church and by state? How many frivolous, selfish butterflies and dudes of fashion, who eat the honey they have had no hand in producing? O, the cries of anguish and the curses that hourly beat upon the tympanum of God's ear! How many suicides does our social system every day send, blood-stained, to God's throne to cry out against the Christian pharisees and money-loving hypocrites of this generation? The air for miles above this planet is crowded with the groans and cries and curses of Mammon's victims on their wild flight to God's ear; to Him who has said: "Vengeance is mine!"

O, blasphemer, do you dream that this state of things is due to our obedience to the divine laws? Has obedience to God's laws worked out such a result as this? Every one of us who sees the innumerable number of men and women and children that are being murdered, by slow torture, in body and mind and soul, by our present social system, by human laws contravening the divine laws, and who fails to cry out against it, is a party to the crime, is a murderer not only of bodies but of souls. I care not how "eminently respectable" he may be, I care not what position he may hold in church and state, he is an atheist, or worse, he is a worshiper of the devil; he is guilty of the unpardonable sin, if he stops his ear to the cry of the children, if he sees the unspeakable slaughter of the innocents by Mammon and refuses to rush to the rescue.

Do you not see that all this misery and suffering and crime, this brutalization of the masses, this wholesale murder of human souls, this conversion of the classes into selfish, heartless pharisees, is due, must be due, to a violation of some fundamental law of the Creator, or else that this Creator is a demon? What right have you, by your human laws, to vest in the few the right to monopolize those bounties of nature intended for the support and use of all? Did God create the sky, the wind, the clouds, the air, to be the private property of a limited number of individuals? Are they any more, or as much, essential to life as the land? If you have the natural right to monopolize the land, you have the natural right to monopolize the air. A right to a portion of the soil is as necessary to a man's life as to a tree's, or as is a right to breathe the air. Under our system of laws the people themselves, by obeying a natural instinct, by congregating together, communicate a value to the naked land which puts it out of the power of the great body of them to own any interest in it. The growth of population alone communicates to the land all its exchange or speculative value. If the people could destroy that value which they themselves have communicated to the land they would put it within the power of each and all of them to own homes, to change their condition from that of tenants, or serfs, to that of landlords. I believe in landlordism; only I want the system so changed that every man will be a landlord. That will make him a patriot. That will enable every family to sing "Home, Sweet Home," with no danger of their hearts breaking while singing it.

If all the unoccupied, unused land of this country was free to every one who would use it, would there be any tramps, or beggars, or paupers? If there were, then they ought either to be taken out and shot or put in prison at hard labor for life. But there would be none, or comparatively none. Human beings, God's children, are vagrants and devils because of wicked human laws. Give them a chance to work and give them the full results of their work and they will fill the world with such an abundance of wealth as has never been dreamed of, and there will be no

ragged, hungry children anywhere to be seen; and that means that there will be few or no ruined women, no drunkards, no criminals. Hunger brutalizes men and causes crime.

The single tax will deprive no man of his land. Let him have as much land as he wants to. But it will destroy that value which does not inhere in the soil, which is no part of the land, which has been made to attach to the land solely by reason of the presence of population, and which alone places it within the power of the moneyed class to enslave, to own, the masses. For the man who owns the land owns those who are forced to live upon that land. The truth is, and it is clear that such is the divine law, that no man has the right to withhold from cultivation and use any portion of this planet, unless he gives to those from whom he withholds it the just equivalent for the injury he works to society by such withholding of it. If God were this day to destroy the life principle in the soil, so that it would no longer contain the raw material out of which all wealth is produced by human labor, and should from hence on supply such raw material by dropping it out of the sky, would a few be permitted to monopolize it and refuse access to it to the others unless they consented to pay them out of their labor for the right to have such access to it? That is the precise equivalent of our present land system. This planet is the storehouse of nature, which contains all the raw material for the support of all beings called into existence on its surface. And God, or nature, is not a niggard. He has provided a superabundant supply for all; not for this generation only, but for all generations. The fault is not His that so many go supperless to bed. Ours is the fault; our ignorance and selfish wickedness.

How can a poor little miserable mite of humanity, a clod of earth with a soul, a spark of deity, in it, go out these summer nights, and gaze up at all the unaccountable billions of other worlds rotating and revolving around their awful suns; how can he draw before his mind's eye the picture of this planet on which he lives, an immense ball 8,000 miles in diameter, 25,000 miles in circumference, with 144,000,000 square miles of water on its surface, the home of the innumerable living and dying glassy-eyed creatures, revolving, at the rate of 1,500,000 miles a day, around a globe of fire in the heavens 400 times as large as itself, carrying on its surface snow capped mountains, and solemn forests, and great cities, the dust of Jesus and Shakespeare, and all the generations of the dead, and then believe that the Almighty Maker created it to be the private property of Tom Jones and William Smith! And such a human maggot as that bugs the delusion to what he calls a soul that he will be permitted some day to walk and exchange thoughts with the angels; as if he had any thoughts to exchange with anybody or anything.

But the heaven is at work, and it will some day leave the whole lump. The new wine is fermenting, and the old bottles will not much longer hold it. The day of the emancipation of the masses from the thralldom of the classes is dawning. The people are stirring in their sleep, for the night is far advanced, and the first streaks of the dawn are already to be seen on the sky. May God grant that the first color be not red.

LETTER WRITING FOR THE CAUSE.

A Method for Pushing Single Tax Ideas that is Becoming Popular.

"Yes; I can write a letter." This reply comes quite regularly and heartily from many who inquire of THE STANDARD what they may do in behalf of the movement, and are reminded that they may spread the light by means of their pen. Indeed, a large proportion of single tax people throughout the country, if they would make their influence felt, are obliged to depend almost entirely on writing letters. The situation in which they work and live gives them little or no other channel. Not a few of them are falling into line cheerfully, taking up the task that it is possible for them to perform. There are many more who, doing what they can by other means, see the advantages of writing letters, and are sending at least one a week to some one who is not yet with us but who may be inclined to pay attention to the words of an earnest correspondent. The work is cheaply done, and is often fruitful of good results. Even when no answer is elicited, it may not have been in vain. There are abundant reasons for a public man or the editor of a newspaper declining to reply to an unknown correspondent, and yet what that correspondent has said may have its weight with him. Editors are ever on the watch for evidences of the drift of public sentiment, and, though they may not chime in with its changes, they are bound some time to recognize in some manner the change in general opinion that is surely taking place in regard to the single tax. Make known your sentiments then, friends, and trust to time for the effect. Take encouragement from a zealous worker who sends word to THE STANDARD that in three weeks lately he wrote to three public men and eighteen newspapers, and was happy in finding several of his letters in print. Don't be discouraged if you fail to get even a single response. Try again. The work is like fishing. Sometimes the line goes where there is something to catch, and sometimes it does not. Keep at it patiently. The interest that is being shown

in single tax letter writing is indicated in the following letters:

Annapolis, Md.—I am a young man, but I think I understand the single tax doctrine. By writing letters to the press I have engaged in a controversy with a learned opponent who would perhaps have paid little attention to me in a spoken argument. Yet in type he has no advantage over me by reason of his age, his general knowledge, his position, or his reputation. The argument alone is what the public wants, and I am beating him in that. T. O.

Morristown, N. J.—A single tax man should write many letters. Short letters do the most good. Truth is easily grasped and digested by most minds, when boiled down into compact and self-evident form. Then short and precise communications are apt to command respect and they don't interfere with the duties of those to whom they are addressed. I have for years done a great deal of this kind of work and have had occasion to notice the influence it exerts. J. G.

Miamisburg, O.—I heartily concur with those of our friends who believe in a letter writing campaign, and if we continue it without intermission till 1892, that year will tell a different tale from 1888. H. M. S.

Greensburg, Ind.—I am an isolated single tax man. At least I do not know of any one who gives the matter any attention here. I am the only subscriber to THE STANDARD, but I have distributed quite a number of papers and tracts. This community is a very quiet farming one in which the political changes are few, the vote—and the republican majority—being about the same one year after another. We propose this week to organize a tariff reform society, and if that is a success, I think there will be opportunities offered to get persons to examine the whole subject of taxation. Week before last I placed a complete set of Henry George's works in the libraries of Hastings's college, Nebraska, and Bethany college, West Virginia. I think I can find time to write one single tax letter each week. I think I shall write in such a way as to call attention and then enclose a tract setting forth some phase of the subject, and if possible get the person addressed enough interested to make further inquiries. W. O. F.

Sparta, Ill.—Letter writing will tend to bring the subject of the single tax into favor as well as prominence. A public man will often appreciate a letter from a stranger as a personal compliment and in that he may not be far wrong. The tendency will be to incline him our way and cause him to investigate. No newspaper comment should pass unnoticed. Every slur to the cause should be rebuked and every brave word encouraged. The fight is on. It is by grappling with this one, encouraging that one, and appealing to the higher sense of right and justice in all men that the battle is to be fought and won. The single tax is the only thing that can safely, justly and permanently make natural opportunities free. R. C.

Parkersburg, West Va.—The plan of writing letters is good in several ways. It gets us into the way of writing letters, and also makes us aggressive. We jump onto anybody if they dare write against the single tax. W. J. B.

San Luis Obispo.—I send you a copy of the Courier-Item of Santa Cruz, in which I have marked an article which gives my letter with editorial comments. This is the first favorable mention this paper has vouchsafed the single tax. In a parallel column you will notice a short editorial on the "License Ordinance." I have written to the editor again, thanking him, and using this editorial as a text for another short article. The heading to my article—"The Land Tax"—is the editor's, as, of course, my wording would have been different. F. J. M.

Black Diamond, Cal.—I am doing all I can for the cause under the circumstances, but am forced to admit that the people around me are generally dull—all farmers like myself. When I go away from home I go "hunted" with the congressional petition and documents. I work in single tax ideas in all my communications and to the local newspapers as a correspondent. J. A. B.

New York.—For two years I have been a writer of letters. An obscure local newspaper in the interior first encouraged me by printing my letters, which have always been "cheerful but aggressive." E. K.

NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

Half Nail, Half Screw.

An ingenious inventor has devised a new screw—half nail and half screw; two blows of the hammer, two turns of the screw driver, and it is in. Its holding power in white pine is said to be 332 pounds, against 298 pounds the holding power of the present screw.

Substitute for Silk.

A French chemist claims to have discovered an artificial substitute for silk. Nitrate cellulose is the base of this new silk. The cellulose is rendered soluble by the acid of certain chemicals. It assumes a certain consistency in the acidulated water and can be drawn out by a regular movement. The thread thus formed must be dried quickly, as it passes through a recipient in which dry air circulates freely and may be reeled off when dry. The filament thus obtained is gray or black, and a great number of soluble coloring substances may be introduced into the etherized solution, in order to obtain filament of various colors. The filament so produced is transparent, supple, cylindrical or flattened, and silky to the touch, the breaking strain being twenty-five kilos per square millimeter. It is not affected by acids or alkalis of average strength, by hot or cold water, alcohol and acetic ether. Spun glass, which has been known for so long, is not a more wonderful product than spun cellulose, and the latter may be applied in many more ways than the former.

Transmission of Power by Vacuum.

London Industries says that the Popp company, in Paris, for the distribution of compressed air for working clocks, and also for motive power purposes on a large scale, has a rival in a company which sells power by means of rarefied air. The works are situated in the Rue Beaumont, and were established in 1885, and contain three steam-driven air pumps, which produce in the network of distributing pipes converging at the station a vacuum of about 20 inches of mercury. The motors at the subscribers' premises are similar in construction to small steam engines, and work by reason of the excess of pressure of the atmosphere over that in the exhaust pipes. There are in all some 150 motors at work, varying in power from $\frac{1}{2}$ horse power to $2\frac{1}{2}$ horse power, and the greatest distance from the station is 2,500 feet. One of the directors of the company has recently read a paper before the Paris Society of civil engineers, in which he gave the efficiency of these vacuum motors at 81 per cent; but the system is obviously only applicable over small areas, and can, therefore, not compete with the Popp system of compressed air distribution over large areas. An attempt to utilize rarefied air for working dynamos, and thus supply electricity from the station in the Rue Beaumont, has failed, owing to the low efficiency of the system as a whole and the complications it entails. The company have, therefore, installed at their station dynamos and separate engines for the direct distribution of current, and this machinery is worked in the evening, while the vacuum pumps are worked during the day.

Consumption Cured.

An old physician, retired from practice, having had placed in his hands by an East India missionary the formula of a simple vegetable remedy for the speedy and permanent cure of Consumption, Bronchitis, Catarrh, Asthma and all throat and lung affections; also a positive and radical cure for Nervous Debility and all Nervous Complaints, after having tested its wonderful curative powers in thousands of cases, has felt it his duty to make it known to his suffering fellow-men. Actuated by this motive and a desire to relieve human suffering, I will send free of charge, to all who desire it, this recipe, in German, French or English, with full directions for preparing or using. Sent by mail by addressing with stamp, naming this paper, W. A. NOYES, 139 Power's block, Rochester, N. Y.

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QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Blackstone on Property in Land.

NEW YORK.—To settle an argument on the single tax question, between a legal friend and myself, please inform me where it is that Blackstone says "there is no basis in nature for private ownership of land."

WM. MEREDITH.

The quotation you want as well as the quotation which was printed over the poem in THE STANDARD of May 25, entitled "Man's First Chart of Freedom," can be found on pages 1 and 2 of volume II of Blackstone's Commentaries on the laws of England, four volume edition.

W. B. S.

Wages Not Drawn From Capital.

In "Progress and Poverty," page 21, Mr. George says: The proposition I shall endeavor to prove, is

"That wages, instead of being drawn from capital, are in reality drawn from the product of the labor for which they are paid."

The above was read by a minister and a D.D., a man of learning, travel and culture, and in commenting thereon here is what he says: This proposition is not true and no amount of sophistry can make it appear so to a clear thinker. To illustrate: A has \$100,000 and proposes to enter upon a manufacturing enterprise; he hires 200 men at \$50 per month and persistently works away with this force for one year. In this time he pays his men regularly. Their paid up wages amount to \$120,000. But his manufactory has proved a failure as there is no demand for his goods, and the whole production is lumped off at \$20,000. This \$20,000 and the \$100,000 are all absorbed in paying for labor and A has nothing left. If Mr. George's proposition is true, A should keep his \$100,000, and pay his laborers not \$100,000, but \$20,000, the entire product of the labor. In the case supposed it is the capital and not the product of labor which pays the wages.

P. T. SOUTH.

In paying to his employees their wages at the end of each month the manufacturer is simply paying for or buying what they have produced during the month. At the beginning of the month there was the raw material—let us say leather—at the end of the month there were shoes. These shoes represent the raw material plus the increased value given by the labor, the superintendence and the capital; and the added value that labor has given is the wages it gets, not, however, in the form of shoes, but of money, as that is the medium of payment agreed upon. Now the remainder of the value of the shoes, over and above the value of the raw material, belongs to the employer, and if he has bought the product of his men cheap then his profits are large; if he has been foolish enough to continue for a year buying their product for more than it was worth he loses money. But in this latter case wages are not drawn from capital. The laborers have simply taken advantage of an opportunity to work, and then have sold their product for more than it was worth. It is just the same as when a trapper sells his fox skins for \$2.50 apiece to a merchant. The fox skins are the trapper's product—his wages. He sells them for money. Then afterwards the merchant finds he cannot resell the skins for more than \$1.75 apiece. The merchant loses money. But the trapper is not "paid out of capital." His pay is his product and he sells it for more than it is worth, that is all. On the average, however, the extra high profits over balance the losses, and an average rate of interest and wages of superintendence goes to the employer.

Of course it is understood that a third individual comes in for his share before the whole transaction is settled. This is the landlord who charges both employer and his men for the opportunity to work, so that the laborer does not get his full product, nor does the employer get his full share.

W. B. S.

Rental Values—Single Tax Limited.

BENNETT, P. O., Pa.—In the evolution of our single tax reform, isn't it proper to say the "single tax" means the taxation of appropriated land values for all purposes of government, national and local, to the exclusion of all other taxes? I have always disapproved of the expression, "The taking of rent by taxation," for the rent growing out of the present unnatural and unjust conditions will be displaced by the application of the single tax, as above defined, without being identical in amount with the present rent. Besides, I think the revenue of government should be commensurate with the needs of government economically administered, and not an arbitrary amount according to another standard. The land is free, but government must be paid for, and we propose a common tax on the common domain for the common government. Of course, the tax to be apportioned according to the relative value of the land.

JAMES D. McDADE.

If it were usual to say that we propose to take "rent" by taxation, your objection would be a good one, for rent to the ordinary man means house hire, &c. But as a fact we generally say that we propose to take "the rental value of land" or that we propose "to tax land to its full rental

value," which seems to me quite as good a formulation of our idea as the one you make.

You say that the revenue should be restricted to the needs of economically administered government. That is, I suppose, you mean that if we can get along without doing so we should not take the full rental value of land. But if, as you say further on, land is the "common" domain, why should you take only a part of its rental value for the "commonalty" or community, and leave to the landowner the remainder? Would not common rights be thereby infringed? Your position—that of the "single tax limited" men—seems to me illogical.

W. B. S.

What Proportion Does Rent Bear In Distribution?

TORONTO, Ont.—(1) Can it be estimated what proportion of the produce is due to rent—that is, all land in use both by owner and tenant?

(2) The objection is sometimes made by the opponents of the single tax that the tax upon land values would be a tax on one class of society only. If rent depends upon the pressure of population or competition for land, and is paid from the produce of labor and capital, would it not be an equal tax upon all? Wouldn't it act like a graduated income tax?

R. G. KENT.

(1) I do not think there could be any accurate or even approximately accurate estimate made. Ordinary tenement and small house dwellers, such as factory operatives, pay from one-quarter to one-half their earnings for house rent. Farmers who rent pay one-third to one-half the crop. Railroads extort enormous rents from the public, for railroad fares are rent, in large part. The profits of mining corporations are frequently almost all rent. But it would be impossible to estimate what proportion rent bore to production.

(2) Under the land value tax system everybody except the man living on land that has no value would pay rent, either directly to the government or indirectly to the man who afterward paid it to the government; and in one sense the tax would fall equally upon all, that is it would fall in proportion to the amount of the common domain monopolized. It would take from the rich as a class much more than any income tax ever yet devised, for railroads, wharves, city lots, mines, forests, farming lands, water rights which the rich own cannot be hidden from the tax assessor like incomes or personal property.

W. B. S.

BURLINGTON, Vt.—Will you kindly give the readers of THE STANDARD the title, publisher and cost of Professor Symes's work on political economy, mentioned by Mr. George in his letter a few weeks ago; and also state if there is any other treatise on political economy written in the spirit of the single tax?

H. L. KOOPMAN.

The work you ask about is "A Short Text Book of Political Economy, with problems for solution and hints for supplementary reading," by J. E. Symes, M. A., of University college, Nottingham. The publisher is Rivington, Waterloo place, London, and the price 2 shillings and 6 pence—about 60 cents.

We do not know of any other treatise on political economy written in the spirit of the single tax.

Currency.

PHILADELPHIA.—Will you favor me with your reply to a few questions supplementary to my inquiry which you kindly answered in Volume V, No. 20, from which you will see why your rejoinder fails to quite satisfy me?

(1) If in your opinion the government can not issue an indefinitely large number of valid "promises to pay" gold and silver when the amount of gold and silver remains fixed without bankrupting itself, how is it that people can issue "promises to pay" in the form of mortgages, promissory notes, bonds, etc., far in excess of all the silver and gold in existence without a fear of depreciation as long as behind each individual promise there is marketable wealth, other than gold or silver, in excess of the nominal value promised. Mercantile indebtedness being not limited by the amount of gold extant, why should notes used for currency be so limited?

(2) From your answer I presume that your assumption of a depreciation of currency in case of an expansion of its volume is explained on the score of insolvency. This case was carefully excluded in my question. What reason have you to assume insolvency to necessarily follow an expansion of credit money? Will the value of a dollar be affected by an expansion of currency as long as it remains within the bounds of sound credit?

(3) What do you mean by fiat or irredeemable paper money? In its verbal meaning such a thing is to the inconceivable. Paper that is virtually irredeemable is worthless. The so-called convertible notes, though not instantly convertible into coin, are redeemed in services when accepted by the issuer for taxes. They are promises, but the promise of redemption is only implied, and based upon the "confidence in the government." This looseness of contract is a constant temptation to partially repudiate, to which unfortunately too many governments have yielded.

(4) How can the value of a dollar decline while there is no use for a portion of the

money as such if, according to John Locke, the value of money is not due to the use of gold as money, but to the commodity value of gold? Will the commodity value of that wealth to which the holder of the note has a right of action be wiped out of existence if more such valid claims are permitted to be used as currency than are needed to carry on the commerce of the world?

(5) What is the object of a tax of ten per cent annually on the use of bank credits as currency, i. e., on the issue of currency notes by any but the national banks, if, as you say, bank credits can take the place of currency?

HUGO BILGRAM.

(1) There seem to me to be only two ways for a government to issue money other than gold or silver; one is to issue promises to pay gold or silver, and the other is to issue paper money which does not promise anything except, perhaps, that it will be received from the holder for taxes or debts. To say that the government has wealth "other than gold or silver" behind its notes is not drawing a parallel case to that of a man who issues a note secured by a definite piece of land or definite article of wealth, such as a house. The promissory notes, bonds, etc., you speak of are mostly secured by definite and tangible securities. Moreover, a government's notes would all be payable on demand, while private notes are payable some to-day, some to-morrow, some a month or a year from now.

(2) For the reason that men are apt to doubt the solidity of any corporate body that goes overwhelmingly into debt unless it is compelled to; and if a government were compelled to by war there would be a still greater reason for distrusting its solvency.

(3) By fiat money I mean just what you have described, i. e., paper money which does not promise to pay the holder anything, but may be receivable for taxes.

(4) I was speaking of paper money not secured by any property. If there were an overabundance of such money I think it very probable that the unit value would decline simply by reason of the overabundance.

(5) The object of such a tax is to give the national banks a monopoly. It can only be defended by defending the unjust system by which a government transfers its own powers to a few individuals.

W. B. S.

More About Currency.

BOSTON.—The statement of W. B. S. that should the government issue one hundred times the amount of currency now in circulation the value of the dollar might decline because we should have no use for it, bank credit performing the function of money seems to me to be open to reasonable objection.

No doubt the increase of currency "abnormally" would decrease the purchasing value of a dollar in the rise of prices of articles to be purchased, but any excess of currency always finds its way into the bank vaults to be used as a basis for loans and discounts. It no doubt would have a tendency to lower the rate of discount by creating an easy money market. But to say that a solvent government like United States could ever issue a legal tender circulating medium, redeemable in any and all necessities of life, unhampered by gold or silver redemptive clauses, or that such legal tender could ever lose its full unit value in exchange, would imply an issue in excess of its prerogative of taxation. The case in point is illustrated by the seeming appreciation of our greenbacks during and after the war. The fluctuations registered were the erratic movements of gold which was practically demoralized by the bankers by the suspension of specie payments, converting it into a commodity, but yet the law of the land declared that twenty-five and eight-tenths grains of gold was the unit dollar. Is it not a severe commentary upon the financial legislation of that time that the only party that refused the greenback was the government that issued it, and had the influence of the lobby been less the word "except" would have been left out of the contract and gold, silver and greenbacks would have been equivalent in paying powers as money, but no doubt the two metals would have gone abroad, on account of the rise of prices incident to large production and consumption during the war. I do not believe the ills of society can be cured by an increase of the currency. The amount of currency adjusts itself to the requirements of business exchange and when there is a surplus it retires into bank vaults until called into requisition by an increase of the smaller exchanges of trade.

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Whoever sings a song that lifts a care,
Or with a verse the human heart inspires,
Whoever clears with flashing wit the air,
Or kindles with wise speech the sacred fire,
Knows not the gratitude all unexpressed
That, voiceless, slumbers in the human breast.

As one who worships distantly a star,
Cheered by its rays, enlightened by its beams,
Breathes blessings as the planet shines afar,
Claiming association but in dreams,
So to our guest I lift in humble phrase
My gratitude for her outstretching days.

When to the gifts that Nature kindly lent
Is added culture gained by studious care,
On high ideals and noble models bent,
Beauty itself is rendered doubly fair;
And more divine when in the human soul
Philanthropy yet dominates the whole.

O, thou full orb'd and many sided friend,
Whose excellence no conscious sign displays,
Accept this tribute with the hosts that blend
To wreath a circlet for thy brow, of bays;
Thy gracious presence, long may it delight,
While suns shall rise and set and years take flight.

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